

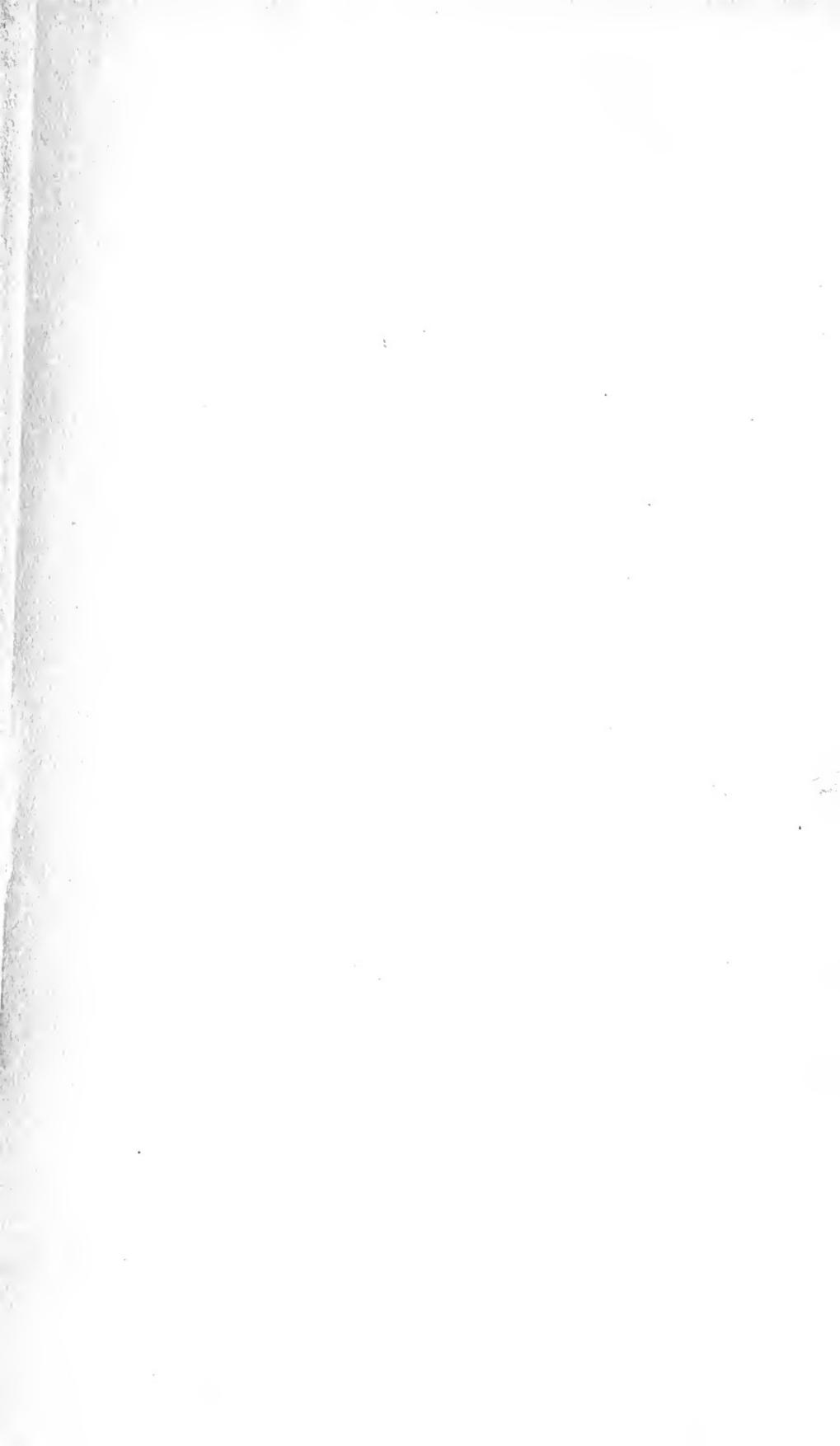


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History of the Holy Rood-tree.

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Original Series.

History of the Holy Rood-tree,

A TWELFTH CENTURY VERSION OF
THE CROSS-LEGEND,

WITH

Notes on the Orthography of the *Ormulum*
(*with a Facsimile*)

AND

A Middle English *Compassio Marie.*

BY

ARTHUR S. NAPIER, M.A., PH.D.

MERTON PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF OXFORD, AND PRESIDENT OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following very curious version of the Cross-legend is taken from the twelfth-century MS. Bodley 343. As the volume containing the hitherto unprinted homilies from this manuscript—they will be included in my edition of Old English Homilies in preparation for the Early English Text Society—may not appear for some little time, Dr. Furnivall has kindly allowed me to publish this legend separately, as being the only one in the MS. possessing any special interest for the student of medieval literature.

The two Latin versions and the one in Old French prose which will be found in the Appendix, are included on account of their close relationship to the English *Rood-tree History*.

I was also fortunate enough to find the Old French poem, still unpublished, which is the direct source of those portions of the *Cursor Mundi* which deal with the history of the Cross-wood and the Cross from the time of Moses, and I have printed extracts from it on p. 63 ff. A careful comparison of it with the *Cursor Mundi* will, no doubt, help to throw light on the text of the latter.

In the Introduction I have endeavoured to determine the relationship between the *Rood-tree History* and the versions allied to it, and also the relationship of this group to the important group of Cross-legends represented by Meyer's Latin *Legend*.

The *Ormulum* notes and the Middle English *Compassio Marie*, the latter an early specimen of the Cheshire

LIST OF SOME OF THE CONTRACTIONS USED¹.

A = Old French version of Andrius, cf. pp. xii and 41.

Ca = Cambridge Latin version, cf. pp. xii and 41.

CM = Cursor Mundi, cf. p. xxiii.

Db = Dboec van den Houte, cf. p. xix.

F = Old French poem, cf. pp. xxiii and 63.

H = Harleian Latin version, cf. pp. xii and 54.

Legend = Meyer's Latin 'Legende,' cf. p. xxxi.

ME. = Middle English.

OE. = Old English.

R = History of the Rood-tree, printed pp. 2-35. It is also referred to as
'Rood-tree.'

WS. = West Saxon.

X = The original of the 'Rood-tree' group, cf. pp. xxxv and xlvi.

¹ For the titles of books, of which the authors' names only are mentioned,
cf. § 2.

ERRATA

Page xlvi, line 30. *For beed read been*

„ lvii, line 32. *After ængles insert and Saxon Chronicle (Laud MS.)*

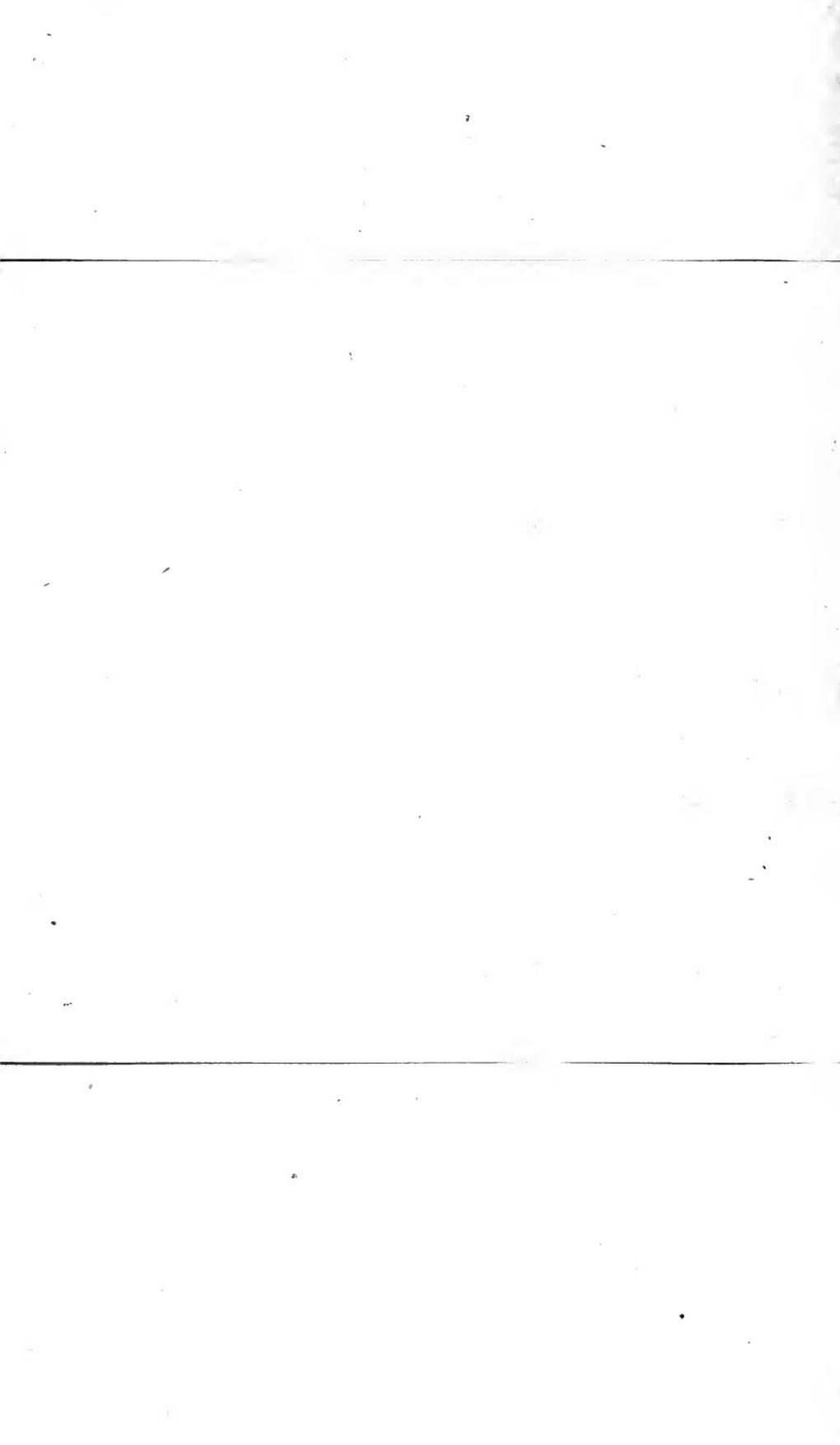
„ 38, line 42. *For 233 read 235*

„ 79, line 2. *For þat þe were read þah þe were*

„ 79, bottom line but one. *For siche read sich*

History of the Holy Rood-tree (E. E. T. S. No. 103)

three are in Assmann's *Angelsächsische Homilien*, and nine in Wulfstan (ed. Napier); whilst Aelfric's Pastoral Epistle is printed in *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (ed. Thorpe). The remaining fourteen, which are still unprinted and of which the *Rood-tree* forms one, will be included in my collection of homilies to be published by the Early English Text Society.



INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

§ 1. *The Manuscript.*

MS. Bodley 343 (formerly NE. F. 4. 12), from which the *History of the Rood-tree* is published, is described by Wanley, p. 15. It is a folio MS. containing 205 leaves, and appears to have been written about the third quarter of the twelfth century. With the exception of some few pieces in Latin and one or two smaller pieces in English (cf. *Anglia*, v. 289 and xi. 6) its contents consist of English homilies, nearly all of which are copies of preconquest originals and most of which have already been printed, at any rate from other MSS. Fifty-one of them are to be found in Aelfric's *Homilies* (ed. Thorpe); three are, or will be, included in Aelfric's *Lives of Saints* (ed. Skeat); three are in Assmann's *Angelsächsische Homilien*, and nine in Wulfstan (ed. Napier); whilst Aelfric's Pastoral Epistle is printed in *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (ed. Thorpe). The remaining fourteen, which are still unprinted and of which the *Rood-tree* forms one, will be included in my collection of homilies to be published by the Early English Text Society.

§ 2. *Bibliography*¹.

(a) Literature referring to the earlier history of the wood of the Cross down to Christ's passion.

1. Wilhelm Meyer, *Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus* (*Abhandlungen der k. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, I Cl. vol. xvi. 103). München, 1881.

2. R. Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*. London, 1871 (Early English Text Soc. No. 46).

3. A. Mussafia, *Sulla leggenda del legno della Croce* (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Academie, phil.-hist. Classe*, 63, 165). Wien, 1869.

As Meyer gives an exhaustive account of the literature on the subject up to the date of the appearance of his monograph, I need not repeat it here, but will merely give references² to books and articles which have appeared since, or which, if published earlier, are not mentioned there.

4. S. Berger, *La bible française au moyen âge*. Paris, 1884.

5. J. Bonnard, *Les traductions de la bib'e en vers français au moyen âge* (Paris, 1884), pp. 49, 89, 192, 230.

6. M. Gaster, *Literatura populară Română* (Bucarest, 1883), p. 284 (contains two Roumanian versions of the legend of the wood of the Cross).

7. A. Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo* (Turin, 1892), chapter iv and p. 175.

8. W. Hertz, *Die Rätsel der Königin von Saba*, in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, xxvii. 19.

9. C. Horstmann, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, lxxix. 465.

10. A. von Keller, *Fasnachtsspiele aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Nachlese*. Stuttgart, 1858 (contains a German prose version).

¹ Whenever, in the following pages, any one of the works enumerated here is referred to, the name of the author only will be given, followed by the

number of the page. Wilhelm Meyer is referred to simply as Meyer.

² References 4, 5, and 6, I owe to Prof. Suchier.

11. R. Köhler, *Zur Legende von der Königin von Saba*, in the *Germania*, xxix. p. 53.
12. Paul Meyer, *Romania*, xv. 326; xvi. 49, 227, 244, 252.
13. J. de Rothschild, *Le mystère du viel Testament* (Paris, 1878), vol. i. p. lxxii.
14. G. Schirmer, *Die Kreuzeslegenden in Leabhar Breac*. Leipzig, 1886.
15. H. Suchier, *Denkmäler provenzalischer Literatur und Sprache* (Halle, 1883), i. 165, 525, 620.
16. L. Wirth, *Het heilige Kruis en de Denensage te Breda*. Groningen, 1893.

(β) Literature dealing with the legend of the Finding of the Cross by St. Helena¹ :—

1. R. A. Lipsius, *Die edessenische Abgar-sage* (Braunschweig, 1880), p. 67 ff. (important for the origin and growth of the Helena legend).
2. O. Glöde, *Untersuchung über die Quelle von Cynewulfs Elene* (*Anglia*, ix. 271; cf. also *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, 1887, p. 261).
3. A. Holder, *Inventio sanctae crucis*. Leipzig, 1889.
4. E. Nestle, *De sancta cruce*. Berlin, 1889 (contains Syriac versions with German translation. At the end N. gives references to the literature on the subject).

CHAPTER II.

OTHER ALLIED VERSIONS OF THE CROSS-LEGEND.

I PROPOSE, in this chapter, to consider a number of versions of the Cross-legends which are nearly related to the *History of the Rood-tree (R)*, and as a comparison with them serves to throw light on the probable development of the legend preserved in *R*, it may be well to give a brief sketch of their contents. The

¹ Some of the works mentioned under (α) also treat of this part of the subject.

versions in question are: *The Cambridge and Harleian Latin prose versions (Ca, H)*; *The Andrius fragments (A)*; *Dboec van den houte (Db) and the Low German translation*; *Cursor Mundi (CM)*; *The Old French poem (F)*. These versions, together with *R*, constitute the *Rood-tree* group. Three of them (*H, Db, CM*) contain also the early history of the wood of the Cross, beginning with the sending of Seth to Paradise, but, as this part is wanting in *R*, and as there is good reason for believing that it was wanting in the original from which all the members of this group are ultimately derived, I only give an analysis of the portion of the history which begins with Moses.

§ 3. *The Cambridge (Ca) and Harleian (H) Latin versions, and the Andrius fragments (A).*

The Cambridge version, which will be found on page 41, is taken from a twelfth century MS. in the University Library. The last leaves of the MS., which breaks off near the end of § 15, are unfortunately lost, but there can be little doubt, as a comparison with *A* and *R* shows, that the lost portion was identical with §§ 16–18 of *H*.

The Harleian text, printed on p. 54, is evidently the work of a scribe who had at least two distinct versions of the Cross-legend before him, one of which was identical with *Ca*¹, whilst the other was closely related to Meyer's Latin *Legend* (cf. p. xxxi); from these two he borrowed, following sometimes the one, sometimes the other. Of the §§ 1–15 of *H*, §§ 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11 are identical with the corresponding paragraphs of *Ca*, and to these may be added §§ 16–18 (see above). The contents of §§ 1^b, 3, 4, 10, 14, and 15², on the other hand, agree with Meyer's Latin *Legend*, although the wording is different. The only paragraph in *H* which has nothing answering to it either in *Ca* or the *Legend*, is § 8^b (the tree, growing in circumference,

¹ It cannot have been the Cambridge MS. itself, as in a number of cases *H* has preserved the better

reading, e.g. p. 50, l. 6.

² Cf. Suchier, p. 199, and Meyer, p. 166.

burst the rings, which fell into the cistern and being drawn out, were hung in the temple, etc.).

The fragmentary version of Andrius in Old French prose, which is printed on page 41, was published, in part, by Mussafia, pp. 202–6, from the only known MS. in the National Library at Paris, which dates from the end of the thirteenth century. Paul Meyer had previously called attention to it in the *Revue Critique*, i. pp. 222–3, where he also printed the Sebile episode. The author names himself in the MS. (fol. 380^a): *Ceste estoire trouua Andrius li moines escrive en Latin tout mot a mot si come uous orres chi en Franchois.* This is followed by the legend of Adam and Eve, translated from the Latin *Vita Adæ et Evæ* (cf. W. Meyer, *Abhandlungen der k. bayer. Akad. der Wiss.* I. Cl. vol. xiv. 1879, p. 245), after which, without any break, comes the portion of Andrius' work which I have published.

A comparison of the Old French text with *Ca* shows that the former is a faithful translation of the latter, and that *Ca* is the Latin original to which Andrius refers. The Cambridge MS. was not however the one actually used by Andrius, as is evident from the interpolated § 12 in *Ca*, of which we find no trace in *A*; but, unless we assume that on p. 50, l. 6 two scribes independently omitted the same line—and that is not impossible—the Cambridge MS. and Andrius' original must have been very nearly related. It has already been mentioned that the lost portion of *Ca* was, in all probability, identical with §§ 16–18 of *H*. We are further justified in assuming that in Andrius' original (also, very possibly, in the Cambridge MS., as well as in the one from which *H* was copied) these paragraphs were followed by another, the contents of which corresponded to § 19 of Andrius (short epitome of the Cross-tree history from Moses to Solomon, the betrayal by Judas, and the cock story). This can have been none other than the Latin *Judas story*, which is found independently in a number of MSS., and which is printed on page 68 (cf. also p. xlvi). The scribe of the Harley MS. purposely left out the cock story and otherwise shortened (cf. p. 63, l. 2). That *X* (the original of the *Rood-tree* group) also contained this *Judas story* is rendered

probable by the fact that we find it in *F* and *CM*, where it appears incorporated with the narrative.

The Latin MS. which Andrius translated, the MS. from which the Harleian scribe copied, and the existing Cambridge MS., are all three obviously derived (probably with intermediate links) from one MS. which I will denote by *κα*. With the exception of one or two unimportant points¹, *κα* can only have differed from the existing *Ca* in that it did not contain certain obvious interpolations (§ 12, which *A* shows to have been interpolated, and probably most of § 3 and § 10), but did contain the missing §§ 16–18, as in *H*. With these limitations we may regard the existing *Ca* + §§ 16–18 of *H* as representing *κα*, which probably also contained, as an independent appendix, the *Judas story*.

But *κα* was not only the parent manuscript of *Ca*, *A*, and *H*; there is good reason for assuming that it was also practically identical with the original version from which all the members of the *Rood-tree* group are ultimately derived. A discussion of this point is, however, reserved for § 9.

I append a brief account of the contents of *Ca* and *A*.

§ 1. Contains a short introductory exhortation.

– § 2. After crossing the Red Sea, Moses and the children of Israel came to the desert of Sur, where they wandered for three days without finding water. They pitched their tents on the plain, and next morning Moses saw three rods, of cypress, cedar, and pine, round his resting place. Awed by the sight he neither dared to touch them nor to remain there, so he hastened to Helim, where they found seventy palm-trees and twelve springs of water, near which they encamped. On the following morning the rods appeared again, and again Moses did not dare to move them, but prophesied that they signified the Trinity. Thence he came to Raphidim, whose waters were so bitter as to be undrinkable, whereat Moses and the host with him were in great tribulation. After sunset they betook themselves to rest, and

¹ That is, points where either *H* or *A* have preserved a better reading: e.g. p. 50, l. 6, where *κα* no doubt contained the missing line, as in *H*.

next morning Moses beheld the rods for the third time¹. By divine inspiration he drew them out and placed them in the bitter waters, which at once became sweet.

not § 3². In the third month after leaving Egypt they came to the desert of Sinai. Having put the rods in water, Moses ascended the mount and remained there forty days fasting. When he returned, bearing the tables of stone, his face shone so that the children of Israel could not look upon it, but fell to the ground in terror, begging that Moses should speak to them, and not God, lest they should die. Veiling his face, therefore, he made known to them all that God had commanded him. Having made the tabernacle, Moses removed it outside the camp and went thither daily. The cloudy pillar descended and stood at the door of the tabernacle, and the Lord talked with Moses. When the cloud was lifted from the tabernacle, they journeyed and, led by it, came to the wilderness of Pharan. The children of Israel cried out for flesh and were punished. When they came to Mount Or Aaron died, and Moses, travelling thence, entered the land of Moab, and having ascended Mount Nebo, died and was buried by God himself in a place known to no one.

- § 4. Before Moses' death he had put the rods in the ground, as God had commanded him. They remained there, neither increasing in size, nor losing their foliage, until the time of David. One night³ there appeared to him an angel who bade him cross the Jordan, on the further side of which the Lord would show him the three rods placed there by Moses, which signified the Trinity. David obeyed and encamped on the plain beyond Jordan, and next morning saw the three rods standing round his couch. He prayed to God to reveal to him whether these were the rods he had been sent to seek, and being informed that they were, he drew them up and took them with him rejoicing. On the way to Jerusalem many who were infirm were healed.

§ 5. Hearing of the sickness of a great man named Ioxilus, he hastened to him, and he was cured by the rods.

¹ From here to § 10 is wanting in Andrius. is probably interpolated.

² The greater part of this paragraph

³ It was in the tenth year of his reign, as appears from p. 48, l. 10.

— § 6. Before David crossed the Jordan there met him four Ethiopians, who prostrated themselves before the rods. Forthwith their blackness and hideousness departed from them and they became white and fair.

§ 7. When the king had crossed the Jordan a leper who had lived in a mountain cave for 160 years, saw him and prophesied: ‘To-day he shall come to me who shall heal me of this infirmity.’ These words were scarcely uttered when David’s horse stood still, the hand in which he was holding the rods was extended, and a flame issued from them which moved towards the leper’s cave and burnt the leprosy from him. He arose healed and accompanied David.

§ 8. Arriving at Jerusalem in the evening, David placed the rods overnight in a spring near his garden, but by the morning they had taken root so firmly that they could not be pulled out. The king therefore had his garden enlarged and the spring enclosed within it. By the end of the first year the rods had grown together to one tree. Though the lower part of the tree was joined together forming one single trunk, in the upper part the three branches remained separate, each retaining its original nature (the one being cypress, the second cedar, and the third pine), and every year David had a silver ring fastened round the top, so as to make it grow together. Thus at the end of each year a new ring was added, higher than the one of the previous year, the old ring being, at the same time, enlarged so as to allow for the increase in circumference. This went on for thirty years, by which time the rods had become a mighty tree, higher than all the trees of Lebanon and of more noble foliage, and the king often went and prayed under its shade.

§ 9. When the tree began to bear fruit, David set about collecting the materials for a temple. But when they were collected, the Lord told him that not he, but his son Solomon was to be the builder.

§ 10. David therefore called an assembly of the people and informing them of God’s will, addressed his son and gave him the pattern of the temple, the materials, &c. Then follows an

account of the building of the temple. When¹ the work was near completion, the builders were in want of a beam, and though they searched everywhere, they could not find a suitable one; so they persuaded the king to have the tree which stood in his father's garden cut down. The thirty silver rings were hung, by Solomon's command, in the temple, in honour of his father and himself, and were afterwards given to Judas as the price of our Lord's betrayal.

§ 11. The tree when cut was two cubits longer than the other beams, but, when raised to its place, it measured two cubits less than the rest². When it was taken down again, it was again found to be two cubits longer. All efforts to fit it were fruitless, it grew longer and shorter alternately, for it had been, before the foundation of the world, predestined to form the cross of Christ. So, after repeated trials, it was left in the temple, where it remained until the time of our Lord's passion. The workmen sent to find another suitable tree met with one that same day.

§ 12³. contains an account of Solomon's wealth, &c., from the Bible. It is altogether wanting in Andrius.

§ 13. Many miracles were performed by the tree after Solomon's time. A certain priest named Ciritius (*in Andrius he is named Orifeus*) wishing to have it, sent 100 men to fetch it, and as they were unable to stir it, he went himself with a large multitude. But even then the tree could not be moved, so they tried to cut it into three pieces, when forthwith a large fire sprang up and burnt the priest and sixty (*Andrius, forty*) of his men with him.

§ 14. There was a certain woman named Sabilla (*Andrius, Sebile*) who, having entered the temple, seated herself inadvertently on the holy beam, when fire straightway rose from it, burning her garments behind. She cried out that Christ, the life and salvation of all, should be crucified on the tree—she herself not knowing what she said—and the fire vanished. The Jews, hearing her name Christ, beat her almost to death and cast

¹ Andrius begins again here.

² There is a line wanting here both in *Cæ* and *A*, cf. p. 50, l. 6.

³ This paragraph is evidently an interpolation.

her into prison; but an angel came and comforted her, telling her not to fear for a crown of gladness was prepared for her, and henceforth she should be called, not Sabilla, but Susanna. The angel returned to heaven and the Jews put Susanna to death.

§ 15. Many years after, when the time of Christ's passion was at hand, the wretched Jews could find no tree whereon to hang the Saviour of the world. Caiphas therefore sent 300 men to fetch the tree from the temple, but they could not move it. Then Caiphas ordered them to go again and to cut off ten ells and to make the cross therewith. They did so, the cross was made, and carried out by Christ Himself, and Christ was crucified upon it¹.

§ 16. The remainder of the sacred beam lay in the temple until the time of the emperor Constantine. When the latter had attained to the imperial dignity, he sent his mother Helena to Jerusalem to seek for the holy cross. After she had found it, she entered the temple, where she saw the remaining part of the tree, and learning what it was and whence it had come, she prayed God to reveal to her what she should do with it. An angel, who appeared to her in her sleep, bade her have it cut into four parts, which were to be distributed to the four quarters of the earth. She did so, leaving one part in Jerusalem, and sending a second to Rome and a third to Alexandria, whilst the fourth she took with her to Constantinople. She also took half of the cross with her to Constantinople.

§ 17. After the cross had been found and identified by the raising to life of a dead man, the nails were also discovered; and again an angel appeared to Helena in her sleep, telling her to make a bit of the nails and to fasten them to Constantine's bridle. She did so, and took the bit with her to Constantinople. Wherever the emperor went, he always put the bit on his horse, and there proceeded from its mouth, as it were, a flame of fire, and all who beheld the miracle were converted. Seeing this the emperor travelled about the whole country converting the people in this way and afterwards returned to Constantinople. After

¹ Here the Cambridge MS. breaks off.

the completion of three years, on the injunction of an angel, he took the nails from the bridle, and fastened them to the wood of the cross, and there they are held in great honour.

§ 18. O, how great are the merits of St. Helena, who was permitted to find the holy and glorious cross, and was afterwards accounted worthy to discover the sacred nails! For, coming to her son Constantine, she gave him the bridle adorned with the sacred nails, and the emperor, whenever he rode out, always put the bridle on his horse. All who saw him riding were in terror, for a flame of fire and a shining light were seen, for more than a mile, issuing from his horse's mouth. O, happy emperor, to whom such a privilege was accorded! For within the space of three years many thousands were converted, and at the expiration of that time an angel appeared to him, telling him that he had now fulfilled the will of God and that his time was at hand, and bidding him return to Constantinople. He did so, and had the nails taken from the bridle and deposited with the cross, where they are still held in great veneration.

§ 19. The early history of the tree from the finding of the rods by Moses down to the building of the temple and the felling of the tree is very briefly epitomized. Then the author passes on to the betrayal of Christ by Judas, who receives the thirty silver rings as a reward. Returning home the latter tells his mother, and then follows the cock story.

§ 4. *Dboec van den Houte (Db) and the Low German version.*

Dboec van den houte is a Dutch poem of 780 lines preserved in MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, embracing the history of the wood of the cross from Adam to the Crucifixion. It was published by J. Tideman in the *Werken uitgegeven door de vereeniging ter bevordering der oude nederlandsche letterkunde*. Leiden, 1844¹. In this edition Tideman also printed a short Dutch

¹ The best manuscript of *Dboec* is not MS. *H*, on which Tideman has based his edition, but MS. *S*, of

which the variant readings are given at the foot of the pages; cf. Meyer, p. 154.

prose version derived from the poem. In the fourteenth or fifteenth century *Dboec* was translated, almost line for line, into Low German. This Low German poem has been printed several times; most recently by Carl Schroeder, *Van deme holte des hilligen cruzes*, Erlangen, 1869, and again in 1877, another MS. having meanwhile been found, in the *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* (Jahrgang 1876), p. 88. (On the relation of the various MSS. of translation and original, cf. Schroeder in the *Jahrbuch*, p. 110, and Meyer, p. 154.)

In 1483 Jan Veldener published in Culenberg a Dutch poem of sixty-four four-line stanzas, each stanza illustrated by a wood-cut. This was reprinted in facsimile, together with the wood-cuts, by Berjeau (London, 1863), and by J. Ashton, *The Legendary History of the Cross* (London, 1887). An edition, with only a few of the woodcuts, is to be found in Dibdin's *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, iii. 350. This version is apparently derived from *Dboec*, but it contains in addition the 'Invention and Exposition of the Cross,' borrowed, as it seems, from one of the ordinary versions.

Dboec begins with Seth's mission to Paradise. From the three pips placed by him under Adam's tongue there sprang three rods which remained green until the time of Moses.

§ 2¹. After leading the children of Israel across the Red Sea, Moses wandered with them through the desert, where they suffered thirst for three days. They pitched their tents in the vale of Ebron, Adam's burial place, and next morning Moses saw the three rods standing round his bed. He moved thence to Ellem, where there were seventy palm trees and twenty springs of water. Here they encamped, and next morning Moses again saw the rods, and prophesied that they betokened the Trinity. He left them there, not daring to touch them, and journeyed with the children of Israel to the land of Raphadyn, where they found the waters bitter. Moses retired to rest, and next morning [he saw the rods again, as he had done twice before²]. He knelt down and

¹ The paragraphs correspond to those of *Ca* and *A*.

² This third appearance of the rods is not expressly mentioned in any of

the known MSS. of *Dboec*, but it occurs in one of the MSS. of the Low German translation.

prayed, and then, by God's direction, pulled them up and put them into the waters, which were thereby rendered sweet.

§ 3. From thence he came to Mount Sinai, which he ascended, leaving the rods in a spring. After remaining on the mountain for forty days with God, he came down, bearing with him the ten commandments.

§ 4. Then he took the rods to the kingdom of Moab, where he planted them and never saw them again. There they remained for many a year, green both in winter and summer.* In the tenth year¹ of his reign an angel appeared to David in his sleep, and bade him cross the Jordan and fetch the rods, which he should find growing there. He set out on his journey, and coming to a fair spot in the land of Moab, encamped, and next morning saw the three rods standing round his bed. He prayed God to reveal to him whether these were the ones he had come to seek, and being told by a voice that they were, he drew them out and took them with him. Whenever sick men were touched by them they were healed.

§ 5. This came to the ears of a great man named Bixillus², and he was cured by the touch of the rods.

§ 6. Before they reached the Jordan they met three Moors, whose black skin became white on being touched by the rods.

• § 7. When they had crossed the Jordan, they came to a mountain wherein had long dwelt a leper; he was 130 years old. That day he had prophesied, 'To-day will come one to me that shall heal me from my sickness.' When David drew near, a flame started from the rods towards the mountain and consumed all the man's disease, so that when they came up to him they found him healed.

§ 8. On David's arrival at Jerusalem in the evening, the rods were placed in a spring, and the next day they were found to be so firmly rooted that they could not be pulled out. They had, moreover, grown into one stem at the base, branching above into

¹ Cf. *Dboec*, l. 473.

² Other MSS. spell the name *Bexillus* and *Brixillas*; in the Low

German translation it appears as
Vexillus and *Lixillus*.

three boughs. The king had his garden enlarged so as to include the tree, and silver rings were put round it every year for thirty years, and these same rings, which many people called ‘penninghe,’ were afterwards given to Judas. David often sat under the tree and prayed there.

§ 9. As a man of war God would not permit David to build the temple. That was reserved for Solomon.

§§ 10-11. During the building the workmen, wanting a beam, sought everywhere for a suitable one, but finding none, they obtained from Solomon an unwilling assent to their proposal to cut down the holy tree. Proving at one time too short and at another too long, it was laid in the temple together with the silver rings, and the same day the builders found a tree which answered their purpose.

§ 14. A woman named Sibilla came and thoughtlessly sat down on the tree. Her clothes catching fire, she prophesied, and was thrown by the Jews into a deep dungeon. They illtreated her so that she died in the prison. The tree was then dragged out of the temple and laid as a bridge over a brook, in order that it might be trodden under foot.

§ 14^a. The queen of Saba came to Solomon to hear his wisdom, and when she arrived at the brook over which the holy tree was laid, she would not cross by it, but waded barefoot through the stream. Solomon questioned her as to the reason of this, and she replied that the hope of the world should hang on the tree. Thereupon the king had it taken with great honour to the temple and placed at one of the doors, all the other doors being walled up, so that everyone who entered the temple to pray, should do obeisance to the tree.

§ 14^b. After Solomon’s death Roboam came to the throne, and after him Abia. The latter stripped the tree of the gold and precious stones with which it was adorned, and had it dragged out of the temple, and the Jews buried it twenty fathoms deep in the ground. It happened afterwards that a piscine was dug at the very spot where the tree lay buried, and it came floating up in the water. An angel descended daily into it and stirred

the water, and whoever entered it first after the angel was healed.

§ 15. When Jesus was condemned to be crucified, one of the bystanders called out that the tree which was floating in the piscine would serve to make the cross of. It was fetched, a third part of it cut off and fashioned into the cross, which Christ Himself bore to Calvary. The poem ends with the crucifixion.

§ 5. *The Cursor Mundi (CM) and the Old French Poem (F).*

The *Cursor Mundi* was edited by R. Morris, Early English Text Society, 1874-77. In this poem the cross story is found incorporated with the rest of the narrative in the following passages: ll. 1237-1432 (Seth's mission to paradise); ll. 6301-6368, 6659-6666, 6937-6946 (Moses); ll. 7973-8978 (David and Solomon); l. 15,961 ff. (Judas and his mother); l. 16,543 ff. (Crucifixion); l. 16,861 ff. (the Jews bury the three crosses); l. 21,347 ff. (the finding of the cross). These passages relating to the cross legend are, in most cases, quite distinct from the rest of the story, although they are inserted in their chronological order. In all probability the author of *CM* had before him a legend dealing exclusively with the cross story, which he incorporated with his longer narrative, inserting the several parts in their proper places in his history. This legend, whence the author of *CM* borrowed the cross story, or rather those portions which deal with the history of the wood from Moses, down to the finding of the cross by St. Helen, I believe that I have been fortunate enough to find in the following Old French poem.

MS. Français 763 (formerly 7181. 3) of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, contains, foll. 267-277, an Old French poem (*F*) of 1783 lines on the history of the cross wood from Moses to the Crucifixion and on the finding of the cross. This MS., which dates from the fourteenth century, is mentioned by Bonnard¹, p. 85, but he wrongly regards the poem on the cross as forming part of the longer poem, a metrical version of sacred

¹ Bonnard (p. 89) prints as a specimen the Sibylla episode, l. 932 ff.

history, which immediately precedes it in the MS. As the head librarian, Professor Delisle, to whom I applied for information, kindly informed me, the two are entirely distinct. I have since been able to procure a copy of the whole of the cross poem, of which I give an account below. That this poem¹ is the source of *CM*² is shown by the fact that not only is the narrative practically identical in both (cf. the following abstract), but that a large portion of the *CM* version corresponds almost line for line with *F*, as a glance at the specimens printed in the appendix³ will show. Moreover, in a not inconsiderable number of instances the author has actually retained unaltered the rhyme words of his original. Compare the following:—

F

- 355 De cedres, de pins, de lorie[r]js.
 399 Et le chier propiciatoire.
 427 Li face, qu'il est homs de pais.
 461-2 Li rois fit uenir Bersabee,
 Que ere sa femme et priuee.
 601-2 Qui est plantes entre les sorz
 Des aigues qui ont lou droit cors.
 611 De ci lai que li filz Marie.
 617-8 Pour quant ce truisen parchemin,
 Que ciz nasqui de cel pepin.
 869-7 Que nous n'an heussiens uostre
 ire.
 Li arbres de uostre iardin
 Mettroit toute l'ouraige a fin.
 939 Dou tref dit une prophecie.
 1143 Ausinc dura iusque a complie.
 1283 Et moi et mon signor Anfire.
 1307-8 'Amis,' dist la reigne Heleinne,

CM

- O cedre, o pine, and o lorrer. 8235
 þe gilden oyle, þe propiciatori. 8281
 For he sal be a man o pes. 8313
 Forþi hir enterd Bersabe, 8341-2
 þe quen, his spouse, and his prive.
 þat planted was betuix þaa 8487-8
 flours,
 þar þe stremis held þar curs.
 Bituix and he quam bare Mari. 8497
 Als written es in parchemin, 8503-4
 þat it com ute o þat pepin.
 þat þou þarfor lepe not in ire, 8800-02

- þe tre þat es in orchiard þin,
 Wald bring ur were ful wel to fin.
 Als wit a voice o propheci. 8904
 Fra þe middai to complin. 16861
 Me and mi lauerd sir Ansire. 21475
 'Godd wat, freind,' þan said 21497-8
 Eline,

pp. xxvi, xxix, and xxx.

² The author of *CM* was also acquainted with the Latin *Legend*,

³ Cf. p. 63.

¹ The MS. of the French poem used by the author of *CM* contained, in a number of cases, more correct readings than MS. 763. Cf. notes on

- ' Quite seras et hors de peinne.'
- 1371-2 Et ot molt gloriouse uoiz
Salu ale fust de [MS. fiten] lacroiz.
- 1409-10 Quant la dame oi la raison,
Uers deu a fait une orison.
- 1425-32 L'une laissai en la cite
Ou temple par auctorite ;
Et l'autre em porta avec soi
A sun fil Costantin, le royst.
Encontre li uont li baron
O molt riche procession,
En l'iglise sainte Sophie
Ont la croiz si bien establie.
- 1524 Et senefia cest cypres.
- 1543-4 Tant con facoit de ses mains
croiz,
Hauoit de sun puiple la uois [so
MS.].
- 1706 Et li fondemens de clergie.
- 1761-2 En Costantinoble et en France
En a fait deusmaistemonstrance.
- ‘ Pou sal be quite of al þi pine.’
And spak wit a blithful voice, 21551-2
þe tre þus hailsand o þe croice.
Quen sco had herd al þis resun, 21581-2
þan can sco mak hir orisun.
þe tan sco left in þat cite, 21597-604
Als in stede of auctorite ;
þe toijer lede hir wit, Eline
Until hir sun, king Costantin.
To mete hir yode mani barun,
Wit gret and fair processiu,
Wit-in þe kirc of sant Soffie,
þar ha þai sett it richelie.
þat wel bitakend þat cipres. 21673
Toquils he heild his hend on 21693-4
croice,
Ai haid his aun folk þe voice.
- Fondement of ur clergi. 21739
In Constantinopil and in France 21795-6
Godd has mad mani mustrance.

To these may be added the following, which will be found printed in Appendix II (p. 63):—

Cf. F	31-2 with CM 6303-4	Cf. F	223 with CM 8076
„ 78-9	„ 6355-6	„ 257	„ 8112
„ 86	„ 6367	„ 270	„ 8126
„ 159	„ 8007	„ 288	„ 8146
„ 164-7	„ 8015-18	„ 303-4	„ 8161-2
„ 216-7	„ 8069-70	„ 325	„ 8186

The following is an abstract of F and CM¹:—

§ 2² (6301). Moses and the children of Israel having crossed

¹ CM also contains the early history of the cross wood, taken from the *Legend*.

² The paragraphs correspond to those of *Ca* and *A*. The portions

printed in italics are contained only in *F*, whilst those enclosed in square brackets are only found in *CM*. The numbers in round brackets indicate the lines in *CM*.

the Red Sea, came to *Elyn* [Syria], where they suffered greatly from want of water. On the following morning Moses saw the three rods standing round the spot where he had slept, but did not dare to pull them up. During the day they went further seeking water, and on the second and third mornings, the rods again appeared to Moses. He then knew that they betokened the Trinity and pulled them up. The bitter waters at *Raphindin*¹ were made sweet by the rods being dipped into them. Wherever Moses went, he always bore the wands with him, and they ever remained in flower and leaf.

§ 3 (6361). When he went up Mount Sinai, he hid them, and when he fasted, he put them in the ground. (6659) A tabernacle was made and the rods put in it. (6913) Moses died and was buried in an unknown spot by God Himself.

§ 4 (6937). Before his death he planted the rods in a secret place, where they remained until David's time. (7973) When David had ruled for *ten years* [about twelve years], an angel appeared to him and told him to cross the Jordan and to proceed to the country where Moses lay buried. There he should find the three rods brought by Moses from the place *where he had found them* [called Helim]. David obeyed, and finding the rods, recognized them at once. All three were growing from one stem which, above, separated into three branches. David drew them up and returned.

§ 5 (8055). On the way David turned aside to see a rich man who had been sick for many a day. At the sight of the rods he wept and was healed.

§ 6 (8069). Proceeding further, they met four Saracens all black and misshapen. Their strange appearance is described at some length. Kissing the rods, they at once became white and shapely, and returned to the *desert* [Ethiopia].

§ 7 (8133). David then came to a *fountain*² [mountain] where dwelt a hermit who had been afflicted with leprosy and other

¹ *Raphindin* is not mentioned in CM, but I think it not impossible that in the original MS. line 6347 ran: *Sijen þui fand in Raphindin.*

² CM has the correct reading here. The other versions show that the reading *fontaine* in F is merely an error of the scribe's for *montaine*.

infirmities for *forty* [thirty] years. The night before he had dreamt that he was in paradise, and that David had *moistened* [washed] his body with a wand, and that he was healed by it. Soon after he awoke, David came near, and a flame, starting out of the rods, penetrated right into the hermitage. The leper, kissing the rods, was cured and accompanied David. They came to the Jordan and David took the rods in his hand. The waters parted aside, and all crossed over.

§ 8 (8191). Having arrived at Jerusalem, the king pitched his tent outside the town, and put the rods in *the hard ground* [in a cistern with lamps and men to guard them¹]. Next morning they were so firmly rooted that they could not be pulled out [and David, seeing this, exclaimed that all nations ought to fear the Lord. As God Himself had planted the rods, he would not have them moved]. The spot was enclosed and a garden made, and a silver ring was put round the tree to strengthen the stem and also to measure its growth, a fresh ring being fastened round it every year for thirty years, and the old one being each time removed. David often walked and prayed under it.

§ 9 (8263). One day, whilst sitting under the tree, it occurred to David that he would build a temple. He was told by an angel that this task was not for him, the man of war, but for his son Solomon, the man of peace. After consulting with his queen Bersabe, he determined to make Solomon his heir, and he was therefore educated accordingly. He, too, loved the sacred tree, and often sat under its shade, learning many things under it. He became king after his father. In a vision he was offered the choice between three gifts—strength, riches, or wisdom. He chose the last. He gave judgement between the two women.

§§ 10-11 (8757). At the time when the temple was being

¹ This is taken from Meyer's Latin *Legend* (cf. Chapter III): '*repositi illas in cisterna quadam... appositi sunt quidam custodes et luminaria.*' In fact, for the whole of this passage (ll. 8206-8230), the author of *CM* has followed the Latin *Legend* as well as *F.* In accordance with the latter he has represented the rods as so

firmly rooted that they could not be moved, whilst from the *Legend* he took the entirely different reason for their being left standing: viz. that it was because God Himself had planted them there. It was from the *Legend* too that he borrowed David's exclamation at the sight of the miracle.

built, the tree began to wither, and people said it was dying of old age. The workmen, who had been seeking far and wide for a suitable beam, asked leave to cut the tree down, and Solomon, seeing no other course open to him, gave his consent. But when hewn and lifted to its place, it would not fit, and after the workmen had tried in vain for three days, the tree was laid in the temple together with the thirty silver rings, which were afterwards given to Judas. The builders found a tree suitable to their purpose the same day.

§ 13 (8871). After Solomon's time there came a priest with 700 [500] men and tried to take the holy tree away, but it could not be moved. Then the priest endeavoured to cut it with an axe, but it burst into a blaze and destroyed them all. The priest's name was *Arillus* [Cirillus].

§ 14 (8890). A lady, *Sibile* [Maximilla] by name, came to the temple to pray, and sat down, unawares, on the holy tree. Her clothes caught fire and she prophesied, whereupon the Jews seized and beheaded her. An angel came and bore her soul to heaven, and said that she was called Christian¹. *The tree remained in the temple.* [The Jews thereupon threw the tree into a pool called 'piscina probatica,' but, in consequence of the miracles of healing performed there, they took it out again, and laid it as a bridge over the brook of Siloe, in order that the treading of sinful men's feet might destroy any virtue there was in it. After that, Sibele came from afar to hear Solomon's wisdom. She would not cross by the tree, but after kneeling down in honour of it, she waded through the stream. After discussing many things with the king, she went home, and the tree lay there for many a day, but at the time of Christ's passion it was in the temple.]

§ 19 (15961). After the betrayal of Christ by Judas, the latter went home to his mother and told her what he had done. She replied that he would be shent—'Christ will be slain, but will rise again.' 'He will no more rise again than this boiled cock,' answered Judas. Scarcely had he uttered the words, when

¹ F, *Dit qu'ele ot nom crestienne;* CM, following the *Legend*, adds that CM, *And said þat cristian seo hight.* she was the first martyr.

the cock rose out of the pot, more beautifully plumaged than before, and crew. This was the same cock that crew when Peter denied his Lord.

§ 15 (16,543). When Christ had been condemned, the Jews went to the temple to fetch the holy tree, which was lying there, in order to make the cross. But 200 men sent by Caiphas could not stir it, so a portion was cut off and the cross made within the temple itself. But when ready, it could not be moved, and Christ was therefore brought thither, and Himself carried it out.

(16,859) After the crucifixion the cross blossomed from noon until evening. Joseph of Arimathia took the body and buried it. He would fain have taken the cross too, but the Jews refused to let him have it, and themselves secretly buried it together with the crosses of the two robbers.

§ 16¹. *When Constantine had received baptism [(21,347)]* In the night before a great battle a vision of the cross appeared to the emperor Constantine, on which was written: ‘Herein shalt thou have victory.’ He caused a similar cross to be made and borne before him in the battle, and thus gained the day. Then] he despatched two messengers, *Bensillas and Amphire*² [Benciras and Ansiers] to Jerusalem to his mother Helena. She had, at that time, a Christian goldsmith with her who owed money to a Jew. According to the terms of the agreement, the goldsmith was either to repay the money or to forfeit its weight of his own flesh. As he could not do the former, the Jew demanded the latter, and Constantine’s messengers, who had now arrived in Jerusalem, were called upon to give judgement. Their decision was, as in other versions of the well-known story, that the Jew might take the money’s weight of flesh, but must beware of spilling a single drop of blood. The Jew began to upbraid the messengers for

¹ This part of *CM* was also published separately, from the Fairfax MS., by Morris, in his *Legends of the Holy Rood*, p. 108.

² In *F* the second messenger’s name is written *Amphire, Anfire*, in the nominative, as well as in the oblique case. The forms in *CM* are

interesting as they preserve the Old French difference between the cases, which the English author must have taken over unaltered from his original. They are: 21413 *Ansiers*, nom. (:messagers, plur.); 21443 *Ansiers*, nom. (:fers); 21475 *Ansire*, acc. (:ire).

their decision, but judgement was given against him. He then offered to show Helena where Christ's cross was, if she would remit the penalty imposed upon him. She granted his request, and allowed him time for the necessary enquiries. The place where the three crosses were buried being revealed, they were dug up and carried to the city, where the raising of a dead man to life showed which of them was the Holy Rood. It was then borne to the temple, and there they found the remainder of the beam from which the cross had been made, and which had been lying in the temple ever since the time of Christ's passion. A sweet odour from it filled the temple, and a learned Jew informed the queen what it was. Then she prayed to God to reveal to her what she should do with the *beam*¹ [cross], and an angel appeared and told her to cut it into four parts, one of which was to remain in the temple, the second to be brought to Rome, the third to be sent to Alexandria, and the fourth to be taken to Constantinople. She did as she was directed and placed the fourth part in the church of St. Sophia. Then follows a description of the virtues and symbols of the cross, &c., which is considerably shortened in *CM*.

§§ 17-18 (21,777). Helena sought also for the nails, and when they were found, she had *them fastened to* [a 'work' made of them for] Constantine's bridle. Wherever he rode, his bridle *emitted fire and flame* [had the brightness of fire], and many that saw it were converted. Constantine used the bridle thus for *four*² [three] years, after which time, his end drawing near, he took the nails from the bridle and put them beside the cross, and many miracles have since been wrought by them in Constantinople and in France. *One of the nails is now at St. Denis, together with the crown. 'I myself,' says the author, 'have seen and kissed them.'* [Now

¹ As the other versions (*R*, *A*, *H*) show, it was the remainder of the tree, which was lying in the temple, and not the cross, that Helena was directed to divide into four pieces. *CM* is therefore quite wrong. But even *F* is not free from confusion: the word *fust* (the word employed just before in speaking of the beam

lying in the temple), is, it is true, used here (l. 1412), but a few lines further on (l. 1423) we read: *La croiz prant, .iii. pars en fit.* The mistake was a very natural one for a careless scribe to make.

² *CM* has here preserved the correct reading: *R*, *A*, and *H* all have *three* years.

the crown, together with the nails, is at St. Denis. This is the story of the cross, but others tell it differently, and say that it was a man named Judas, who found the cross, and that he was afterwards made bishop and called Quiriacus. And when he had found it the devil threatened him with vengeance.]

CHAPTER III.

THE LATIN LEGEND AND THE VERSIONS DERIVED FROM IT.

§ 6. *The Latin Legend.*

In his *Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus* Meyer gives a full account of the earlier and simpler forms of the cross story, tracing its development and growth through six chief stages. The first five of these I shall pass over, proceeding at once to his sixth stage, which is represented by the Latin prose version termed by Meyer the *Legende*¹, from which most of the later versions are derived. As this Latin *Legend* is also the source of most of the Middle English cross-poems (cf. § 7), and as, moreover, it is evidently related to *R* and the versions considered in chap. ii, I here give a brief account of its contents.

Adam, when weary of life, sent his son Seth to Paradise to ask for the promised oil of mercy. Instead of this, the angel gave

¹ In the following pages I shall refer to this simply as the *Legend*. It is printed in Meyer, p. 131; Suchier, p. 166; Horstmann, p. 465; and a portion of it in Mussafia, p. 197. On the two slightly different versions cf. Suchier, p. 526. Its popularity is attested by the considerable number of MSS. still existing, as well as by the numerous translations of it into most of the European languages which were made during the following centuries, and of which Meyer gives an account in his seventh and eighth groups. I subjoin a list of the MSS. of the Latin *Legend* so far as they are

known to me; no doubt others exist. In London: MSS. Royal, 8. E. 17 (13th cent.); 8. D. 4 (14th cent.); MS. Arundel 326 (15th cent.); Sloane MS. 289 (15th cent.); MS. Harley, 495 (15th cent.). Oxford: MS. Laud, 471 (13th cent.); MS. Bodley, 636 (15th cent.); MS. Rawlinson, A. 423 (15th cent.); MS. Douce, 88 (14th cent.); Queen's Coll. MS., 213 (15th cent.). Munich: Lat. MSS., 3433 (15th cent.); 27,006 (15th cent.); 11,601 (an abridged version, 14th cent.). Vienna: MS. 4373 (15th cent.).

him three pips from the tree, of the fruit of which Adam had eaten, and told him to put them under the tongue of his father, who would die within three days after his return. Seth did so, and buried his father in the vale of Ebron; and from the three pips there sprang three rods, of cedar, cypress, and pine, each one ell in length. They remained in Adam's mouth until the time of Moses, never increasing in size or losing their greenness.

When Moses had led the Israelites from Egypt across the Red Sea, he came with them to the vale of Ebron, where they encamped. In the evening the three rods, which were standing in Adam's mouth, appeared to them, and Moses, taking them, cried out, 'Truly, these three wands signify the Trinity.' A sweet fragrance filled the whole host, and they believed themselves already in the land of promise. Moses wrapped the rods in a clean cloth, and always carried them with him during his forty years' wanderings in the desert. And when any in the host were bitten by snakes or other poisonous reptiles, they were healed on kissing the rods.

At Meribah Moses struck the rock, and the water gushed forth, but he was told by the Lord that, as he had not sanctified His name, he should not lead the children of Israel into the land of promise. Recognizing that his end was near, Moses went to the foot of Mount Thabor (*var. lect.*, Oreb), and planted the rods. Excavating himself a sepulchre near them, he entered it and died.

A thousand years later David was exhorted by the Holy Spirit to go to mount Thabor (Oreb) in Arabia, to seek the rods which Moses had planted. David did so, the same sweet odour again manifesting itself when they were cut. On the return journey people afflicted with divers complaints were healed.

On his arrival in Jerusalem, David put the rods in a tank overnight, leaving lights and watchmen with them, but when he returned in the morning, he found that they had taken root and grown together. At the sight of this miracle, he exclaimed, 'Let all nations fear the Lord, for He is mighty in His works.' Unwilling to move what God Himself had planted, he surrounded the rods with a wall, and silver rings were put round the tree,

one each year for thirty years, to measure its growth. Under the tree David repented of the great sin which he had committed. Beginning to build the temple in expiation of his sins, he was told that not he, but his son Solomon was to erect it. When the temple was being built, the workmen, not finding a suitable beam elsewhere, cut the holy tree down and shaped it to a beam. But when cut, it would not fit, so Solomon commanded that it should be placed in the temple (*var. lect.* before the doors of the temple), as an object of veneration to all entering.

A certain woman named Maximilla, entered the temple and incautiously sat down on the sacred beam, when her clothes caught fire, and she began to prophesy, as in the other versions. The Jews having dragged her out of the city, stoned her, and she was the first martyr who suffered death for Christ's name.

The beam was then thrown into the '*probatica piscina*,' but, in consequence of the miracles performed there, the water being moved by an angel and the sick healed, they drew it out and placed it across the brook of Siloam (*trans torrentem Syloaticum*). There it lay until Sybilla, queen of the South, came to Jerusalem to hear Solomon's wisdom; she would not cross it, but drawing up her garments, waded the stream with naked feet and prophesied. The beam remained there until Christ's passion.

When Christ was condemned to death, one of the Jews suggested that they should take the royal tree, which lay outside the city. A third part of it was cut off, and the cross made from it, and when they had had the cross brought (*var. lect.*¹ had caused Simon, a Cyrenian, to bear the cross) to Calvary, Christ was crucified on it.

§ 7. *Versions derived from the Legend.*

The following English versions are directly derived from the *Legend* and preserve its characteristic features. They may therefore be regarded as forming a distinct group (the *Legend* group) as compared with the versions described in chapter ii.

(a) *Story of the Holy Rood*, printed in Morris' *Legends, &c.*, p. 62, from MS. Harley 4196, beginning, 'When Adam oure form

¹ Cf. Meyer; p. 166, and Suchier, p. 199.

fader dere.' In this version, as also in the next (*b*), the author used the *Vita Adæ et Eveæ*¹ as well as the *Legend*.

(*b*) *Canticum de Creatione*, edited from MS. Trinity Coll., Oxford, 57, by Horstmann, *Anglia*, i. 303, and reprinted in *Altenglische Legenden*, Heilbronn, 1878, p. 124. It begins, '*Jhesu Crist, hevene kyngē*'.

(*c*) A version in long lines contained in the South English Cycle of Legends, and edited by Morris, *Legends, &c.*, p. 18 (from MSS. Ashmole 43, Harley 2277, and the Vernon MS.), and by Horstmann, in *The Early South English Legendary*, E. E. T. Soc., 1887, p. 1 (from MS. Laud 108). This version, which is to be found in a considerable number of MSS. (cf. the preface to Horstmann's edition) frequently differs in the arrangement of its various parts. Only the first 184 lines treat of the history of the wood previous to Christ, the remainder of the poem dealing with the Invention and Exposition of the Cross. Of these 184 lines the first 156 follow the *Legend* closely²; for the rest, 157–184, the author evidently borrowed from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*³.

Translations of the *Legend* in Old French prose and verse are numerous. Cf. P. Meyer, *Revue critique*, i. 222–3; Mussafia, p. 185; Meyer, p. 150 ff.; Berger, pp. 90, 182, 345, 353, 408, 425; P. Meyer, *Romania*, xv. 326; xvi. 252.

For the Provençal versions, cf. Meyer, pp. 131, 150; Suchier, p. 166; A. Graf, *Giornale di filologia romanza*, iv. 99.

Other versions, also derived from the *Legend*, in German, Swedish, Icelandic, Italian, and Cornish, are described by Meyer, p. 149 ff. To these may be added the Irish version, published by Schirmer, p. 7.

¹ Cf. *Abhandlungen der k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* I. cl. xiv. Bd. 1879, p. 187.

² But cf. note, p. xxxvii.

³ Meyer, p. 151, further mentions a prose *Lyff of Adam and Eve*, printed by Horstmann, *Altengl. Legenden*, p. 220. This only deals with the Adam period, but, as Meyer points

out, the author of it used the *Legend* as well as the *Vita Adæ et Eveæ*.

We also find a distinct reminiscence of the *Legend* in the *York Mystery Plays*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, p. 339, where the cross is made of the tree

‘bat laye overe þe lake,
men called it þe kyngis tree.’

CHAPTER IV.

RELATION OF THE ROOD-TREE VERSIONS TO THE LEGEND AND
TO EACH OTHER.§ 8. *Relation of the Rood-tree group to the Legend.*

THE versions considered in the foregoing chapters obviously fall into two groups : the one comprising the *Legend* and the versions directly derived from it (cf. § 7); and the other, the *Rood-tree* group, consisting of *R*, *Ca*, *A*, *F*, and *CM*¹. The members of the latter group, whilst differing considerably amongst themselves, possess a number of features in common which distinguish them from the *Legend*, and justify us in assuming that they are ultimately derived from a common original, in which these distinguishing features already existed, and to which I shall, in future, refer as *X*. At the same time there are points of agreement between the two groups which show that the *Legend* and *X* are, in some way, connected with each other. In investigating this relationship the chief questions to which an answer must be sought, are : Is the *Legend* derived from *X*, or vice versa? Or do they both come from a common source? Meyer, p. 156, is of opinion that *X*, or rather, the members of the *Rood-tree* group then known to him², are a later development from the *Legend*; but I shall endeavour to show that neither of them is borrowed from the other, the features which the two groups possess in common being due to their common source.

The main points of agreement are the following :

- (1) The rods are found by Moses³, who always carries them about with him and performs miracles by their means.
- (2) David, commanded by God, goes in search of the rods and brings them to Jerusalem.

¹ On the position of *H*, cf. § 3.

² *R*, *Ca*, and *F* were, of course, not known to Meyer. The other three members of the group, *Db*, *A*, *CM*, he

regards as derived from the *Legend*.

³ In the earlier forms of the Cross-wood story, Meyer's first five stages, no mention at all is made of Moses.

(3) They are placed overnight in a spring or tank, and in the morning have taken root and are left there.

(4) They grow together, forming a single tree, round which silver rings are fastened every year for thirty years.

(5) The tree, when cut down, proving unsuitable for use in the temple building, is laid in the temple.

(6) The Sibylla-Maximilla episode.

(7) At the crucifixion a portion of the tree is cut off and the cross made therefrom.

The chief points which, on the other hand, distinguish the *Rood-tree* group from the *Legend*, are shown by the following table :—

Legend.

1. The cross-tree story is brought into connexion with the Adam legend.

2. Moses finds the rods in the vale of Hebron in the evening. They are standing in Adam's mouth. When they are drawn out by Moses, a sweet fragrance fills the whole place. He wraps them up in a clean cloth.

3. Those bitten by snakes are healed by the rods. Moses strikes the rock³ and water gushes forth.

4.

Rood-tree group.

The history begins with Moses (*Db* and *CM* borrow here from the *Legend*).

After crossing the Red Sea the Israelites suffer from want of water. The three rods appear to Moses, standing round his bed on three¹ successive mornings and in three different places (on the second occasion in Elim², on the third in Rephidim). Not until the third morning does Moses dare to pull them up.

The bitter waters at Rephidim⁴ are made sweet by the rods.

When Moses ascended Mount Sinai, he put the rods in water (*Ca*, *Db*), or hid them (*CM*, *F*).

with the Cross-story and is obviously taken from some other source.

¹ Reduced in *R* to two.
² Cf. note on p. 37.
³ In *CM* (l. 6391) the striking of the rock is mentioned, but it is not brought into any sort of connexion

⁴ Rephidim is confused with Marah (Exod. xv. 23).

5. A thousand years later, at the bidding of the Holy Spirit, David went to Arabia to Mount Oreb, where he found the rods. A fragrant odour again filled the place.

6. The miracles performed by the rods during David's home-ward journey to Jerusalem are only briefly hinted at: *regrediente David occurserunt ei diversis morborum generibus oppressi qui virtute sancte crucis salvabantur.*

7. The rods planted over night are not removed next day because God Himself had planted them, and had performed a miracle on them.

8. Under the tree David repented of the great sin which he had committed.

9. The holy tree, proving unfit for use as one of the beams of the temple, *artifices perquisierunt trabem idoneam.*

In the tenth year of his reign, an angel appeared to David, bidding him cross the Jordan to find the rods. In the morning he saw them standing round his couch. In answer to his prayer God revealed to him that these were the rods he had been sent to fetch (*Ca, Db*, shortened in *F, CM*).

The miracles are specified: (i) Roxilus (*Ioxilus, &c.*) is healed. (ii) A varying number¹ of black men are made white. (iii) A leper, dwelling in a mountain cave, prophesies David's coming, and is healed by a flame which, issuing from the rods on David's approach, consumes the leprosy².

The rods planted over night are not removed next day because they had taken such firm root that it was impossible to pull them out³.

The holy tree, proving unfit for use as one of the beams of the temple, the workmen find another one *that very same day.*

¹ Probably the original had 'four,' as in *Ca, F, CM.*

² The third miracle is very slightly altered in *F, CM.*

³ The version in the *South English*

Legendary (cf. § 7 c) agrees in this point with the *Rood-tree* versions, the other English members of the *Legend* group (§ 7 a and b) follow the *Legend*.

10.

The thirty silver rings are deposited in the temple and afterwards given to Judas.

11.

Cericius (Ciritius, Orifeus, &c.) tries to remove the beam from the temple, but is burnt (wanting in *D_b*).

12. The Jews stone Maximilla to death. She is the first martyr.

The Jews torture Sibylla¹ and cast her into prison; an angel comes to comfort her and tells her that she shall henceforth be called Susanna. She is put to death (*R, Ca, A*). *D_b* mentions only the prison, not the angel; whilst in *CM* and *F* there is no prison, but the angel comes and tells her that she shall be called ‘Christian.’

13. The beam is thrown into the piscine. Removed thence on account of the miracles, it is used as a bridge, which Sibylla refuses to cross. It remains there until the time of Christ’s passion.

The beam remains in the temple until the time of Christ’s passion (altered in *D_b* and *CM*).

14. *Pergentes continuo Judei extra civitatem* (where the beam was still lying over the brook) *tertiam partem trabis sancte inciderunt et fecerunt inde crucem dominicam.*

A large number (300 *R, Ca, A*, 200 *F, CM*) of Jews sent by Caiaphas to fetch the tree out of the temple, cannot move it. A third part is therefore cut off, the cross is made in the temple, and Christ Himself carries it out (altered in *D_b*).

15.

The cross and nails are found by Helena, &c. (wanting in *D_b*).

¹ The author of *CM*, following the *Legend*, has altered to Maximilla.

Of these differences between the two groups one of the most important is the fact that, in the *Rood-tree* group, the tree remained lying in the temple from the time of Sibylla's (= Maximilla's) death to that of Christ's passion, whilst in the *Legend*, it was thrown into the piscine and afterwards served as a bridge which Sibylla, queen of the South, refused to cross. That the *Rood-tree* group, in one respect at least, represents the original most faithfully, is evident. The two prophetesses of the *Legend*, the Maximilla, who sits on the tree, and the Sibylla, who will not cross the bridge, are really one and the same person; so that these two incidents in the *Legend*, although entirely differentiated in form, are in fact a repetition of what, in the original tradition, was but a single one: namely, that Sibylla, queen of Sheba¹, on seeing the tree, prophesied concerning it. This double introduction in the *Legend* of what was originally the same incident, is obviously the result of the amalgamation of at least two distinct versions of the story: in the one, the tree was seen by Sibylla in the temple and she prophesied there concerning it; and in the other it was used as a bridge, which Sibylla refused to cross². As both prophetesses had the same name, Sibylla, the author of the *Legend*, when he combined the two, altered it, in the first instance, to Maximilla in order to avoid repetition. The *Rood-tree* group, in which only one prophetess appears, has, in this respect, obviously preserved the older form of the tradition, and cannot therefore have been derived from the *Legend*.

In another point, too, the *Rood-tree* group seems to me to represent the original more faithfully: viz. in that, after the Sibylla-Maximilla episode, the wood remains in the temple, and is not thrown into the piscine. In a Greek version (fourteenth or fifteenth century) published by Gretser, *De sancta Cruce* (cf. Meyer, p. 156), the wood, after proving unsuitable for use as a beam,

¹ On the identification of the queen of Sheba with the Sibylla, and on her prophecy concerning the cross, cf. Hertz, p. 19 ff.

² As in the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of Johannes Beleth, the

Legenda aurea of Jacobus de Voragine, &c., where the tree, proving unsuitable for use as a beam of the temple, was made to serve as a bridge, which the Queen of Sheba worshipped and would not cross.

is placed in the temple and serves as a seat. The queen of Sheba refuses to sit upon it, but full of the spirit of God, prophesies who should die thereon. Solomon has it set up facing the east, and it remains there until the time of Christ's passion. There is evidently a close relationship between this and the Sibylla-Maximilla episode, the beam being here used as a seat, which is not the case in any of Meyer's earlier groups. We have, in fact, in this Greek version, the Sibylla-Maximilla episode in an earlier stage of its development than in the *Legend* or the *Rood-tree* group: The prophetess is still the queen of Sheba¹, and has not yet become a simple lady, whilst her refusal to seat herself on the tree, which may be compared to the refusal to cross the bridge, is obviously older than the fire and the martyrdom in the latter. Meyer, it is true, thinks that the elements of the Greek version are borrowed from the *Legend*, but it seems to me that they are unquestionably earlier, and that the episode in the *Legend* and *Rood-tree* group is a later development from some such earlier form. We have no reason for supposing that this earlier form did not also agree with the Greek story in representing the tree as afterwards remaining in the temple, whence we may conclude that the *Rood-tree* group is here again more original, and cannot therefore be derived from the *Legend*, the author of which, in representing the beam as being thrown into the piscine, has followed some other source.

The absence of the Adam part of the story from the *Rood-tree* versions may be adduced as further confirmation of the view that they are not derived from the *Legend*. Against this it might be urged that the author of *X*, the original of the *Rood-tree* group, possibly found the Adam part in his source, but purposely cut it out. That is not impossible, but the circumstances attending the finding of the rods by Moses in the *Rood-tree* group, which have no connexion at all with Adam², seem to me to militate against such an assumption.

¹ As to this point I rely on Meyer's account (p. 156), as I have not access to the edition quoted.

² In the *Legend* they appear to

Moses where they had remained since Adam's time, viz., standing in Adam's mouth.

Other evidence in the same direction is afforded by the relative age of the two. Whilst there is nothing to prove that the *Legend* was composed before the end of the twelfth or in the thirteenth century¹, the MS. in which *R* is preserved (MS. Bodl. 343), written about 1150–1175, separated as it is from *X* by at least one intermediate link (cf. § 9), shows that the original of the *Rood-tree* group cannot have been composed later than during the early part of the twelfth century². In fact it was probably written as early as the beginning of the eleventh century (cf. § 19).

That the *Legend* is a later development of *X*, the original of the *Rood-tree* group, is, on the other hand, very improbable. The fuller and more detailed character of the latter renders it very unlikely that it can have been the source of the *Legend*, which does not bear the stamp of having been condensed from a more detailed version.

As neither of the two is derived from the other, the *Legend* and *X* must have been borrowed from some common source. This source must have already possessed all those features which have been enumerated above as being common to the two groups. The history of the Cross-wood had been brought into connexion with Moses, but not with Adam. At God's command David went in search of the rods, &c. The Queen of Sheba, who, having come to hear the wisdom of Solomon, saw the tree in the temple, refused to sit upon it, and prophesied concerning it, had already become a simple lady, who, entering the temple to worship, inadvertently sat down on the tree, and when it suddenly burst into flames, prophesied and was put to death.

¹ The earliest known MS. belongs to the thirteenth century, to which period Meyer (p. 130) seems to assign its composition (*diese Form der Sage muss vor dem Ende des XIII. Jahrhunderts entstanden sein*), whilst Rohde (cf. Suchier, p. 621) takes the end of the twelfth century to be the earliest possible date of its production (*frühestens am Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts*).

² The Cambridge MS. also belongs to the twelfth century; and the Jesus

MS. of the Judas story, written before 1200, presupposes the existence of *X*. This important fact, that a fully developed Cross-legend, treating the history of the Cross-wood from Moses to Christ, existed in the first half of the twelfth century, perhaps early in the eleventh—in point of time, as early as, or earlier than, Meyer's first and simplest stages—will have to be taken into account by future reconstructors of the history and development of the Cross-wood legend.

That the history of the rods under Moses is entirely different in the two groups may be explained by assuming that, in the common source, no details were given as to how or where the rods were found, the authors of the *Legend* and *X* filling out the details independently. The former, who added the Adam part from some other source, naturally made the rods appear where they had originally sprung up, viz., in Adam's mouth, whilst the author of *X*, borrowing his background from the Bible narrative (Exod. xv. 22, 27, and 23–25, &c.), connected the finding of the rods with the search of the Israelites for water. The different circumstances of time and place attending the later finding of the rods by David, follow naturally from the different circumstances of their first appearance.

Most of the other points of divergence between the *Rood-tree* group and the *Legend* (cf. nos. 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, in the above list of differences) consist in additional incidents and details in the former which are not found in the *Legend*, and which, as has been already pointed out, serve to show that the *Legend* cannot well be a later development from *X*.

As that portion of the story which treats of the cross under Constantine, forms no part of the *Legend*, I have hitherto passed it over. Before, however, proceeding to the consideration of the relation of the various members of the *Rood-tree* group to each other, it will be well to point out briefly the characteristic features of this portion of the history in the *Rood-tree* group as compared with other versions of the St. Helena legend. Constantine's victory and the actual finding of the cross, round which elsewhere the chief interest centres, is passed over altogether (the account given in *F* and *CM* we must, for other reasons, regard as an interpolation), and instead of it we have a detailed account of what Helena did with the remainder of the tree which she found still lying in the temple. The use to which Constantine put the holy nails also seems peculiar to our group. Elsewhere their object was to secure victory, but the *Rood-tree* versions, taking a more monkish view of the matter, represent him as travelling about for three years converting people to Christianity by their help, at the end

of which time he returned to Constantinople and deposited the nails by the side of the cross.

§ 9. Relation of the members of the Rood-tree group to each other.

With regard to the relation of the members of the *Rood-tree* group to each other, it has already been pointed out that *A* is translated from *κα* (cf. p. xiii), and *CM* from *F* (cf. p. xxiv); there only remain, therefore, *R*, *κα*, *Db*, and *F*. That *R*, although preserved in so old a MS., cannot have been the source of any of the others, is obvious, as a mere glance at its contents is sufficient to show. Nor is it necessary to give any detailed proof that neither of the two younger versions, *F* or *Db*, can be the source of the other. The only remaining possibility is that *κα* is the original from which one or more of the others are derived. This question has already been answered in the affirmative on page xiv, where the opinion has been expressed that *κα* is, to all intents and purposes, the source, not only of *Ca*, *A*, and *H*, but also of all the other members of the *Rood-tree* group, and is practically identical with *X*¹. It is, of course, not easy to give a definite proof of this, but the fact that all the essential features which an examination of the existing versions shows *X* to have possessed, are found in *κα*, whilst, on the other hand, nothing in *κα* militates against this assumption, is a strong argument in its favour.

The two younger versions, *Db* and *F*, which are quite independent of each other, have, whilst preserving the main outlines of *X*, undergone considerable alteration, incidents having been modified or omitted, portions of the story replaced by borrowings from entirely different sources, and the whole shortened.

¹ That is: *X* was a version identical, on the whole, word for word with *κα*. As however the *manuscript κα* (from which *Ca*, *A*, *H* came) was not identical with, but was itself a copy (probably with intermediate links) of the original *manuscript X*, from which all the members of the group are ultimately derived, it may be assumed to have exhibited slight divergencies (omis-

sions, &c.) from *X*, such as are usually found when any work passes through the hands of a number of scribes. Thus, for instance, in both *R* and *F* (*CM*), David crosses the Jordan without boats, and the agreement of these versions renders it probable that this incident, although wanting in *κα*, was contained in *X*.

D_b took the Adam-Seth part from the *Legend* and prefixed it to the narrative of *X*; the scene of the first appearance of the rods he laid in the vale of Ebron, Adam's burial place, as in the *Legend*, but the manner of their appearance (they are found standing round Moses' bed) he borrowed from *X*. The incidents following Sibylla's martyrdom have been quite altered in *D_b*, being evidently borrowed from some other version. As Meyer (p. 155) suggests, the author probably used the account of Jacobus de Voragine, in whose *Golden Legend* the incidents follow each other thus: the beam, proving unfit for use in the building of the temple, was placed as a bridge over a pool. The queen of Saba would not walk over it, but worshipped it. According to another account, says Jacobus de Voragine, the queen saw the tree *in domo saltus*. On her prophesying that one should be hung on it, through whose death the kingdom of the Jews would be destroyed, Solomon had it buried in the ground. The *probatica piscina* was afterwards made on this same spot, and at the time of Christ's passion the wood floated to the top and the cross was made of it.

The author of *D_b* evidently followed this account, but amplified it by making Solomon place the tree as an object of veneration in the temple, where it remained until the reign of Abia, in whose days it was dragged thence and buried in the ground. This episode is apparently found nowhere else. At the end of his account, Jacobus de Voragine merely states that the Jews seeing the wood floating in the piscine, took it, and made the cross of it. The author of *D_b*, returning to the version of *X*, says that a third part of the tree was cut off and made into a cross, and that Christ Himself afterwards bore it to Calvary. The finding of the cross is omitted.

The most important alterations in *F*, apart from the modification or omission of individual incidents and general shortening, are the following. The detailed description of the Ethiopians who were made white, has been inserted, no doubt, by the author of *F*. Additions have also been made to the Solomon part of the story. The Judas legend, which in *X* probably followed, as an

independent appendix, at the end of the whole, has been inserted in its proper place. The blossoming of the cross after the crucifixion and the burial of Christ by Joseph of Arimathia is another addition. The introduction of the Shylock episode (Helena's goldsmith, his Jewish creditor, the judgement given by Constantine's messengers, and the finding of the cross by the Jew), which is found in no other version, is without doubt due to the author of *F*, as is also the description of the virtues and symbols of the cross, and the mention of St. Denis at the end.

It has already been pointed out (p. xxiv, note) that the author of *CM*, whilst following *F* as his source, was also acquainted with the *Legend* and occasionally used it. Thence he took the Adam-Seth episode, which he did not find in *F*. The incidents which follow the martyrdom of Sibylla (l. 8923 ff.), as well as the name *Maximilla*, he also borrowed from the *Legend*. Lines 8206-8230, too, of *CM* betray influence of the same source (cf. note to p. xxvii).

R, although in many of the details it follows *X* more closely than either *Db* or *F* (*CM*), has undergone more radical changes than any other member of the group. Scarcely a single incident has been left untouched, almost all of them having been greatly expanded, partly by the addition of further details and the introduction of new actors, and partly by the dialogues which have frequently taken the place of the concise, somewhat bare narrative of the original. Most of the episodes have, in consequence, grown to at least twice, in some instances four, even seven times their original length. Entirely new episodes have also been inserted, the most striking instance of which is the story of the interviews between Moses and David and the former's servant Robii¹, -which

¹ The invention of this story may perhaps be accounted for by assuming that the author had a MS. before him in which the portion narrating the planting of the rods by Moses and the finding of them by David, was lost. Seeing the names of Moses and David as successive possessors of the rods in close juxtaposition, but without any hint as to how the latter passed from one owner to the other, he assumed

them to have been contemporaries, and accordingly filled up the gap by making them meet at Robathi, and inventing the Robii episode. He elsewhere shows how scanty his knowledge of biblical history was: cf. p. 22¹⁵, where David's reign is made to last over 700 years, and p. 32²⁵, where only one robber is spoken of as having been crucified with Christ.

occupies nearly 150 lines and is, in great part, taken up by dialogues. Other instances are the account of David's visit to the Ethiopians' houses, and the continuation of the Sibylla episode.

The question here arises, To whom are all these amplifications and additions in *R* due? Are they the work of the English author, or did he find them in his Latin original (cf. § 20)? I think the latter: there seems good reason for assuming the existence of a Latin version intermediate between *X* and *R*, which already contained the characteristic peculiarities of *R*. In addressing the sick man, Roxilus (p. 14²²), Moses uses the Latin vocative *Roxile*, which may be reasonably taken as proof that the dialogue, which is peculiar to *R*, already existed in its Latin original, and that the English author, who elsewhere (p. 14¹⁴, 14²³) writes *Roxilus*, in translating Moses' speech, retained the Latin vocative form unaltered. But there is no reason for doubting that the same author who amplified the Roxilus episode by the introduction of the dialogue, at the same time added the other details which distinguish the episode in *R*. And what holds good of the Roxilus episode, may be taken to hold good for the rest. Hence it will not be too hazardous to assume that the additions and amplifications which are so characteristic of *R*, were not invented by the English author, but were found by him in his Latin original. Other isolated forms serve to confirm this: *to Arabiam* (p. 4²⁸) presupposes a Latin *ad Arabiam*, and must have been taken by the English author from his Latin original, which, we may infer, contained an account of Moses' journey to Arabia, an episode only found in *R*. It is only in *R* that Sibylla is described as having been a *meretrix* (p. 26¹²), and here again, the use of the unaltered Latin word, instead of the English *myllestre*, shows that this alteration had already beed made in the Latin original.

It has already been mentioned (cf. p. xiii) that in *X* the story of the Cross was probably followed immediately by the Judas story, as in *Andrius*. As this did not form a part of the Cross-legend proper, but merely followed in the MS. as an independent story, it might easily happen that in some of the MSS. copied

from *X*, it should be omitted. Hence we find no trace of it in *R*. In *Db*, which ends with the crucifixion, and in *Ca*, which is fragmentary, it is naturally wanting. The other *Rood-tree* versions, *CM*, *F*, *H*, either have it or show traces of it (cf. p. xiii). The Latin version¹ of the Judas story is found independently in a number of MSS. It was edited from a MS. belonging to Dr. Ginsburg, by Dr. E. Maunde Thompson, in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxvii. (1881), p. 241. I have printed it (p. 68) from a late twelfth century MS. (MS. 4, Jesus Coll. Oxford) with variant readings from two other MSS.

In these MSS., as well as in *Andrius*, the interview between Judas and his mother is preceded by a brief abstract of the history of the Cross-wood, beginning with Moses, which is evidently epitomized from *X*.

Similar tales of a cock being brought to life again are met with elsewhere, though not in connexion with Judas. Cf. Mussafia, p. 206; R. Köhler and F. Wolf in Ebert's *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, iii. (1861), pp. 58 and 67; R. Köhler, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1869), p. 764; E. M. Thompson, l. c. p. 239.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE HISTORY OF THE ROOD-TREE.

§ 10. *The accented vowels.*

OE. *æ* remains as a rule unaltered; occasionally it appears as *e*, the proportion being about fourteen *æ*'s to one *e*. In a few instances OE. *æ* is represented by *a*; this is invariably the case with the word *water* 2¹, &c. (ten times), where the *a* is, no doubt, due to the influence of the initial *w*². In *almihtiz* 6¹⁹, &c. (seven times), besides *ælmihtiz* 6¹⁷, &c. (three times), the *a* is due to the influence

¹ An Irish translation of the Judas story occurs in the *Leabhar Breac*, Dublin, 1876, p. 222, col. 1, l. 36.

² In *wæs*, *hwæt*, *cwæð*, which are written with *æ*, the *w* has had no such

influence. In the *Ancren Riwle*, in which OE. *æ* is ordinarily represented by *e*, we find *a* after *w*: *þet*, *efter*, &c., but *hwat*, *was*, *water*.

of *all*. *Hafst* 8¹⁹, 14¹¹, besides *hæfst* 14³⁰, &c., owes its *a* to the dissyllabic form *hafest* 16³⁰, 28¹³ (OE. *hafast*). The other instances, *mazene* 20³² and *togadere* 22⁶, are perhaps mere scribal errors. In *bead* (for *bæd*) 10⁶, 20¹⁶, we find *ea* written.

OE. *a* (*o*) before nasals appears both as *a* and *o*. Leaving out of consideration *and* (conj. and prefix), which when written out, is always spelt with *a*, the *o*'s predominate in a proportion somewhat exceeding five to four. Before *n*, *nn*, *o* is much more frequent than *a* (*mon*, which occurs twenty-six times, is always spelt with *o*). Before *nd* (with the exceptions mentioned), *o* slightly preponderates. Before *ng* the *a*'s and *o*'s are evenly balanced, whilst before *nc*, *a* predominates. Before *m*, *a* is more frequent: *lichame* (sixteen times) is regularly written with *a*, *nome* (OE. *nama*) and *from* are always spelt with *o*. In *þeonon* 2¹⁰, besides *þonon*, *þanon*, the root-vowel has been influenced by *heonon*. Note also *ðænon* 20¹⁵.

OE. *e* is generally represented by *e*. Sometimes *œ* is written for it: *wæz* 14¹⁹, *hælpen* 14³¹, *wæras* 18⁸, &c.

OE. *i* remains unaltered. In *wunstræn* 2¹⁰, *wulla* 16²², *wullen* 28², *nuste* 16⁸, *nutennessa* 16⁸, &c., the *u* (= *ü*) is due to the influence of the *w*.

OE. *o* remains unaltered. The forms *marezen* 2¹⁰, *mærezen* 22¹, &c., are from the OE. by-forms *margen* and *mergen*. *Durste* 26¹¹, &c., which has taken the place of the West Saxon *dorste*, owes its *u* to the pres. pl. *durron*.

OE. *u* is preserved unaltered.

OE. *y* (umlaut of *u*) appears both as *y* (rarely *i*) and as *u* (= *ü*). Instances of both are numerous: e. g. *-cynnes* 12¹⁰, *cun* 22⁸; *bryne* 26³², *brune* 12⁵, 26¹³; *gylt* 12⁷, *agult* 24²⁰; *fyrht* 12², *furhte* 10³⁰; *wellspryngæ* 4¹⁰, *welsprunges* 2³; *syngode* 16⁸, *sungode* 12⁶; *ifylled* 4²⁵, *fulden* 4²⁶, &c. We also find this *u*, by the side of *y*, as the representative of OE. *y* from other sources: e. g. *clypoden* 4³, *clupode* 18²⁸ (OE. *clipian*, *cliopian*, *clippian*); *mycel* 8¹⁴ &c., *mucel* 4²⁰, &c.; *sulle* 10²⁰ (OE. *sellan*, *syllan*); *dyde* 8⁶, &c., *duden* 2¹⁶, &c.; *styde* 24³¹, *stude* 22³ (cf. note to 22³).

OE. *ea* is regularly preserved before *ld*: *anwealde* 6²², *heald* 14⁷, &c. Only in one instance do we find *œ* written: *heðlan* 8¹⁰. It

is also preserved before *lf*: *dealf* 2¹⁹, *healfe* 26³, &c. Before *ll*, on the other hand, it is generally represented by *a*: *eall* only occurs four times (24²³, 26², 26⁷, 28¹⁹) as compared with about fifty instances of *all*; further *feallan* 8³⁴, *fallen* 12³⁰. Before *r* + consonant *ea* remains unaltered: *gearwode* 2¹⁴, *wearð* 4², &c. (forty-five times). Only in two instances is *a* written: *swartnysse* 16²⁷, *sigelharwon* 16¹⁷. Before *h* and *x* I have noted twenty-three instances of *ea* and seven of *æ*: *iseah* 2¹³, *astreahte* 20¹⁶; *æhtæ* 6¹, *astræhte* 12⁸, &c.

OE. *eo* has been preserved unaltered. In *isih* 10¹² (imperative, OE. *geseoh*) the change is due to the influence of the *h*. *Hoefenum* 14²⁹ is a mere slip of the scribe's.

OE. (West Saxon) *ie*, later *y* (umlaut of *ea*) generally appears as *y*: invariably so in *gyrd* (over forty times). Occasionally we find *e*: *ferd* 2¹⁸, &c. (six times), *werne* 18², &c., besides *fyrd* 4² (once), *yldestan* 22²¹, *cwyldmon* 30⁶, &c.

OE. *ie*, *y* (umlaut of *eo*) appears as *y* (*i*): *gyrnende* 6²¹, &c., *isihst* 8²², &c.

OE. *ā* remains unaltered, there being no trace of the change to *o*. In *æhte* (=OE. *āhte*) 8⁴, ⁵, it appears as *æ*; cf. *ahte* 30³.

OE. *ā* (=Germanic *ā*) appears both as *æ* and *e*, the former predominating in about the proportion of three to two: *spæcce* 12²⁹, *spece* 8³³, &c.

OE. *ǣ* (=Germanic *ai*) is almost invariably written *æ*. Only a few isolated instances of *e* occur: *nefræ* 8⁶, *arerde* 10¹², *mende* 26¹⁹, *del* 34⁶. Cf. also *deales* 32¹, *aleaden* 12¹, and *arest* 32²⁷.

OE. *ē* is generally preserved; occasionally it is written *æ*: *swætnesse* 4¹⁹, *sæcan* 32⁹, &c.

OE. *ī*, *ō*, *ū* remain unaltered.

OE. *ȳ* (uml. of *ū*) appears both as *y* and *u*, both spellings occurring with equal frequency: e.g. *fyrenne* 'fiery' 12², *furenne* 10²⁶; *untyndest* 12²⁸, *bitunon* 22⁴; *biclysde* 26²³, *biclusdon* 28⁷; *cyddon* 24¹², *cuddon* 22³³, &c.

OE. (West Saxon) *ie*, later *ȳ* (umlaut of *ēa*) occurs most frequently as *y* (*i*): *ihyrde* 10⁵, &c. Somewhat less frequently it is written *e*: *iherde* 16⁷, &c. Once it appears as *u*: *ihurde* 28²⁹.

OE. *īe*, later *ȳ* (umlaut of *ēo*) : *ansyne* 4¹⁴, 6¹¹, 26², *anseone* 18¹⁰, *onliht* 14⁸.

OE. *ēa* and *ēo* are preserved unaltered. Note the isolated spelling *ræd* (OE. *rēad*) 2⁵, 12¹². The OE. *lēoh̄t* ‘a light’ appears as *liht* 12²⁹, the *ēo* having been first shortened and then changed to *i* by the influence of the following *h*, as in *isih* (see above).

§ 11. *The unaccented Vowels.*

The OE. end-vowels have been partly preserved, partly weakened to *æ*, *e*, thus representing a transition stage between OE. and ME.

The OE. infinitival ending *-an* appears as *-an*, *-æn*, *-on*, and *-en*. I have noted fifty-five instances of *-an*, forty-six of *-æn*, twelve of *-on*, and sixty-five of *-en*.

The OE. adverbial ending *-an* is also represented by *-an*, *-on*, *-æn*, *-en* : *wiðneōðan* 22¹⁰, *þonen* 2¹³, &c.

The ending *-an* of the oblique cases of substantives and adjectives of the *n*-declension occurs as *-an*, *æn*, *-en*, rarely *-on*, or, the final *n* being dropped, as *a*, *æ*, *e*.

The ending *a* (gen. plur. of all substantives and adjectives; nom. acc. plur. of fem. subst. of the *ō*-declension; gen. dat. sg. and nom. acc. pl. of subst. of *u*-decl.; nom. voc. masc. sg. of substantives and adjectives of the *n*-declension; imperative sg. of weak verbs of class 2; ending of adverbs such as *sona*, &c.) appears as *a*, *æ*, *e*, the second of these (*æ*) being by far the commonest.

The ending *-as* of the nom. acc. plur. of masculine substantives of the *a*-declension appears as *-as*, *-æs*, *-es*, forms in *æs* being the most frequent.

The ending *-að* (plural present indic. and imperative of all verbs; 3rd pers. sg. pres. indic. of weak verbs of class 2) generally appears as *-æð*, in a few cases as *-eð*.

The ending *-ast* (2nd pers. sg. pres. indic. of weak verbs of class 2) is written *-ast* and *-æst*.

The ending *-on* (pret. plur. of verbs) appears indifferently as *-on*, *-en*, rarely *-an*, *-un*.

The *o* in *-ode*, *-od* is, as a rule, preserved, but *-ede* is also common in the former case, and *-ad* is sometimes found in the latter.

The ending *-um* appears most frequently unaltered; there also occur forms in *-on*, *-an*, *-æn*, *-en*, *-æ*, and *e*.

For the representation of OE. *-u* in the nom. acc. plur. of neuter substantives, and in the *u*-declension, cf. § 13.

An OE. *e* in the end syllables generally appears as *e*, occasionally as *æ*.

§ 12. *The Consonants.*

The consonants exhibit but very slight deviations from the OE. usage, the following points being all that call for notice.

In a few instances *nn* is written for *n*: *fyrenne* (nom. plur.) 10²⁶, 12², *forburnenne* 12⁵, *donne* 26³². Conversely *n* appears instead of *nn*: *ðine* (acc. sg. masc.) 6²³, *mine* 12⁶, 28², *seolfrene* 22⁹, &c.

There is a tendency to drop the *n* in the *n*-declension of substantives and adjectives, cf. § 13. The final *m* of the ending *-um* has not unfrequently become *n*, and is sometimes dropped altogether. On the other hand, the final *n* of the infinitive, pret. plural, and past participle is always preserved. An *n* has been lost in *mi* 8³³, 12²⁹ and *twege* 18²². Note the form *siðen* 10¹⁴ for *siðe* (§ 13, a). On the dropping of *r* in the adject. decl. cf. § 14.

A final *d* sometimes appears as *t*; especially in *ant* (for *and*) 4²³, 30³⁰, 31³¹, 12¹², &c., *mid daneart* 14⁸, *metmucele* 32²⁵. The converse is the case in *eard* 14⁴, *sceald* 28¹², *unrodsiaen* 6²¹.

There is a tendency to drop initial *h* before *l* and *r*: *lude* 4¹⁶, 10³¹, &c., *laforde* 8¹¹, *rymen* 26¹⁴. An initial *h* seems to have been lost in *alsigan* 10³³ (cf. the note). Final *h* has vanished in *þur* 6¹⁶.

An inorganic *ȝ* has been added in *maegð* 28¹⁵.

§ 13. *Declension of Substantives.*

The dative plural of substantives of all genders and declensions ends most frequently in *-um*, the OE. ending being preserved unaltered. By the side of it we also not unfrequently find weakened forms in *-on*, *-an*, *-æn*, *-en*, and sometimes in *æ*, *e*: *ðingum* 22²⁹, *gyrdon* 10⁹, *bedon* 12²⁴, *dagan* 6²⁹, *discæn* 24⁶, *honden* 18¹⁷, *fæðmæ* 24¹⁷, *nihte* 28⁹.

In the genitive plural the old ending *-a* is sometimes found, but most frequently it appears weakened to *æ*, in a few instances as *e*: *handa* 12⁸, *binga* 8¹⁸, *cnihtæ* 4³², *bingæ* 6³⁵, *geare* 20³³.

(a) Masculine *a*-declension.

The declension of the *i*-stems does not differ from that of the *a*-stems. The singular is declined as in OE., the gen. and dat. ending in *-es*, *-e*. On the forms *drihten* 14⁴ and *dæze* 34², cf. § 17. In writing *siðen* 10¹⁴ for *siðe* the scribe probably had the plural *twam siðen* in his mind.

The nom. acc. plur. ends occasionally in *-as*, but much more frequently in *-æs*, sometimes in *-es*: *wæras* 18⁸, *næglas* 34¹⁰, *englæs* 28²⁴, *cniktaes* 18²³, *dages* 4³⁰, *dæles* 32¹⁹, &c. Besides the ordinary gen. plur. in *-æ* (*dagæ* 4²⁸, &c.), the form *dagene* 6¹ occurs with the ending of the *n*-declension. On *earmaes* 10²⁷, *wæræs* 18¹⁸, cf. § 17.

(b) Neuter *a*-declension.

The neuter *a*-declension differs from the masculine only in the nom. acc. plural, which is either without ending or ends in *-u*, *-a* (as in OE.) or in some weakened form of it: *wif* 18⁵, *ðing* 8⁵, *mild* 34²⁰, *word* 8¹⁰, &c., and *mægenu* 16¹⁹, *gebedu* 12²², *tintrega* 26²⁵, *wundræ* 18¹⁰, *scypæ* 18²⁹, *mægne* 16⁶. We rarely find the endings of the *n*-declension: *faten* 4²⁶, *scypæn* 18²⁸.

(c) Feminine *ō*-declension.

The endings of the feminine *jō*- and *i*-stems agree with those of the *ō*-stems, except that, in the case of the *i*-declension, the acc. sg. is found without any ending: *tid* 4⁷, 8²⁹, &c.

The most characteristic features of the declension are the tendency to add an inorganic *e* to the nom. sg., and to adopt the endings of the *n*-declension in the plural.

Examples of the former are: *rode* 2¹, *tacnunge* 2¹¹, *bitternesse* 4¹², *stæfne* 10¹⁷, *wilnunge* 12²⁶, *spæce* 12²⁹, 8³³, *untrumnesse* 16¹, *sawle* 26²⁷, *foresceawunge* 32¹⁰, &c., by the side of *stæfn* 14²⁹, &c. The

nominative ending *-nis* for *-nis* occurs in Late West Saxon, cf. Napier, *Wulfstan* (*Dissertation*), p. 65. In ME. the addition of such an *-e* to the nom. of fem. nouns became the rule; cf. Zupitza, *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum*, ii. 11.

The nom. acc. plur. ends in *-a*, *-æ*, *-e*, or else, with the endings of the weak or *n*-declension, in *-an*, *-on*, *-æn*, *-en*: *mærða* 16²⁹, *bencæ* 14³, *healfe* 32¹⁹, *gyrdan* 8⁶, *gyrdon* 10¹⁶, *gyrdæn* 22¹⁵, *gyrden* 4¹⁰, *roten* 4²⁶ (Scandinavian loan word). On the gen. and dat. plur. see above. Note the weak gen. form *æxene* 26¹ besides *æxe* 24³³.

(d) The *u*-declension.

(i) OE. *sunu*.

Sing., nom. voc. *sune* 20⁴, 30¹⁷; gen. *sune* 34¹¹; dat. *sunæ* 34²¹; acc. *sune* 2¹⁷, *-æ* 14²⁵, &c. Plural, nom. *sunæ* 18²¹.

(ii) OE. *duru*, *hand*.

Sing., nom. *hand* 20⁷; dat. *duræ* 20¹⁰, *hondæ* 20¹⁰; acc. *hond* 10²⁵. The plural endings are the same as those of the *ð*-declension: nom. acc. *handæn* 10²⁷, *honden* 6¹¹, *hondæ* 12⁴, *honde* 12¹⁶; gen. *handa* 12⁸; dat. *handan* 8²⁵, *honden* 18¹⁷.

(e) The weak or *n*-declension.

The nom. sg. masc. generally ends in *-æ*, less frequently in *-e*. The old *-a* is only preserved once: *willa* 14¹. The nom. sg. fem. ends in *-e*. The other cases have *-an*, *-æn*, *-en*, rarely *-on*, or with the loss of the *n*, simply *æ*, *e*. In the oblique cases of the singular the *n* is generally dropped, the instances without *n* outnumbering those with *n* in the proportion of three to one. In the plural the *n* is in all cases preserved, but that is perhaps accidental, the instances being so few.

Sing., nom. *heretogæ* 26⁵, *nome* 18¹³; gen. *dropæn* 20²⁴; dat. *sidan* 2¹⁰, *reoflæn* 20⁴, *lufen* 20²⁰, *lichame* 20¹⁴; acc. *eorþan* 12³, *willæn* 6²³, *timæ* 22¹⁹, *nome* 30⁷.

Plural, nom. acc. *sigelharwon* 16¹⁷, *anwliten* 18¹⁰; dat. *wurhtan* 22¹⁹, *eagen* 6²⁶.

are possibly early examples of the extension of the use of *þæt* to other genders.

(c) The demonstrative pronoun, *ðes*, *ðeos*, *ðis*.

The forms of this pronoun are the same as in OE., allowance, of course, being made for the occasional weakening of unaccented vowels (e.g. *ðissan* 20⁴, *þissæn* 30⁵, besides *ðissum* 10⁹; and *ðisse* (gen. plur.) 4¹⁹, &c.).

The points which call for special mention are the acc. sg. masc. *þæsne* 16⁴, 30⁵, by the side of *þisne* 12¹⁵, &c., and the acc. plural *þæs* 16²⁹, 26²⁵, 28¹³, by the side of *þas* 10¹⁶, &c.

§ 16. *The Verb.*

Except for the not unfrequent weakening of the unaccented vowels (cf. § 11) the verb exhibits scarcely any deviation from the OE. usage.

The following are the only points worthy of special mention. The pret. plural and past partic. of *seon* appear as *isegen* 18¹⁷, 26⁶, 10¹⁰, 10²², &c., forms which in the twelfth century had replaced the West Saxon *sāwon*, *sewen* in the South (cf. *Anglia*, x. 134).

Note also the forms *durste* 26¹¹, 28¹⁶, 32⁷, and *am* 6⁷, which have taken the place of the WS. *dorste*, *eom*. Both these forms are common in the early ME. of the South.

§ 17. *The Prepositions.*

With isolated exceptions the cases governed by the prepositions are the same as in OE. Such exceptions are:—

- (i) of *þæt* *yfce watere* 4²⁵.
- (ii) innan *þam tempel* 24²⁵ (cf. 32⁶, 32¹⁶).
- (iii) on *ðone ilce dæze* 34².
- (iv) from *drihten* 14⁴ (cf. 4⁷, &c.).
- (v) to *Moyses* 10¹⁸ (cf. 6³¹, 10⁸).
- (vi) *ðurh . . . mægne* 18¹³.
- (vii) buton *ða earmæs* 10²⁷.
- (viii) to *heoræ wæræs* 18¹⁸.

On (i) cf. § 15, b. The forms *tempel* (ii), *drihten* (iv), *moyses* (v) are perhaps mere slips for *temple*, *drihtine*, *moyse*. *Mægne* (vi) is probably not dat. sg., but acc. plur., as in 16⁶. In writing *dæge* (iii) the scribe was obviously hesitating between two constructions, for he uses both acc. and dat. after *on*, cf. 14¹¹, 14¹³ (dat.), and 4²², 24²³ (acc.). The last two instances (as perhaps also iv) are interesting as being early examples of the tendency to substitute the accusative for the dative as the case governed by prepositions, the result of which was the loss of the old dative plural in *-e(n)*, its place being taken by the *-es* of the nominative and accusative¹.

§ 18. *Dialect.*

A glance at the preceding paragraphs will suffice to show that, with a few modifications due to the later date, the language of the *Rood-tree* is pure West Saxon. All the peculiarities of that dialect are to be found in it, whilst those of Kentish and Mercian are absent. Only to instance one or two points: the occurrence of *ea* before *l* + consonant, and before *h*, *ht*, *x*, as well as the absence of the *u-*(*o-*) umlaut of *a* preclude Mercian origin, whilst the *æ* for OE. (WS.) *æ*, *ǣ*, and the absence of any trace of *e* as the representative of WS. *y*, show that it was not written in Kent. The preponderance of *y* (i) as the umlaut of *ea*, *ēa*, *eo*, *ēo* speaks for the West Saxon district, as also do the frequently occurring forms—*cniht*, *riht*, *six*, *miht*, *niht*, *weore*, &c. (never the Mercian spellings *cneht*, *reht*, *sex*, *mæht*, *werc*). The exclusive use of the form *on* as preposition, the form *in* only occurring as an adverb, furnishes additional confirmation of West Saxon as opposed to Mercian origin (cf. *Anglia*, x. 139, and also E. M. Brown, *Language of the Rushworth Gloss to Matthew*, Göttingen, 1892, p. 91). If further proof were needed, it is afforded by the use of *u* in place of OE. *y* as the umlaut of *u*, as well as in other cases (*ihurde*, &c.).

¹ Isolated instances of a similar nature occur in the twelfth century Kentish gospels (MSS. Royal 1 A. xiv, and Hatton 38): *Matth.* xxvi. 14 to pare sacerdra ealdres; *Luke* xi. 11,

for fissces; *Luke* xii. 8, beforen godes ængles. Cf. also R. Maack, *Die Flexion des engl. Substantivs von 1100 bis etwa 1250*. Hamburg, 1889, pp. 13 ff.

That we sometimes find the Mercian *e* by the side of the W.S. *y* (as umlaut of *ea*, *ēa*) cannot be urged in disproof of this view, as forms with *e* are common in other southern writings of the twelfth and early thirteenth century. And the same holds good of forms like *isegen*, *durste*, *am*, &c. (cf. § 16). In Late West Saxon *a* was, it is true, regularly written before nasals, but in Early ME. the *o*'s began again to preponderate in southern writings; hence the frequent occurrence of *o* in the *Rood-tree*.

§ 19. *Is the Rood-tree copied from an OE. original?*

There still remains one point to be cleared up: is the existing version of the *Rood-tree* a twelfth century translation from the Latin source, or is it, like most, if not all, of the other homilies in MS. Bodl. 343, a copy of an eleventh century OE. version?

This question it is not easy to answer with certainty. The fact that most of the other pieces in the MS. are undoubtedly transcripts of OE. originals, might make one incline to the latter alternative; whilst on the other hand, the existence of such an OE. version in the first half of the eleventh century would presuppose a fully developed cross-legend as early as the beginning of that century—a very much earlier date than has hitherto been assumed.

In spite of this last consideration, I am inclined to think that the existing *Rood-tree* is a copy of an OE. version, written probably in the first half of the eleventh century. The language seems to me to be too archaic for a production of the twelfth century. A scribe of that period, however well practised in copying OE. MSS., could scarcely have reproduced the older language with such a degree of accuracy. Some slight modification of the vowel system and a partial weakening of the unaccented vowels has taken place, but the old forms are constantly recurring, and a very large proportion of the full vowels, which were certainly no longer pronounced in the middle of the twelfth century, are still preserved,

and are almost invariably correctly used¹, which, I think, would have been absolutely impossible for a scribe of the twelfth century to have done. Moreover, if the existing *Rood-tree* were a product of the twelfth century, a comparison of it with those portions of the MS. which are certainly copied from OE. originals would inevitably reveal differences in the language between the two. But that is not the case. I have compared the *Rood-tree* with some other homilies in the MS., transcripts of existing OE. originals, and have failed to detect any difference whatever in the language. Hence I feel driven to the conclusion that the *Rood-tree* is a copy of an eleventh century English original.

§ 20. *The Latin original.*

That the *Rood-tree*, or rather the OE. version of which it is a copy, is a translation from a Latin original, is obvious. In § 9 I have already quoted some forms which show it. Other forms taken over unaltered from the Latin source, which serve as further proof, are: *quinquaginta finicas* 2⁶, 10⁴; *montem oliueti* 20²³; *carcerem* 26²²; *constantinopolim* 32²²; *ciriaccum* 34¹; *alexandriam* 34⁴; *iudas* (nom.) 34⁷, *iudam* (acc.) 32³³. Note, too, that in the nominative and vocative the form *helena* is used (32⁸, 34¹⁰), whilst the dative is spelt *helence* 34⁸, -e 32³³.

¹ The few isolated exceptions: *icwædon* (past partic.) 16⁵, 28¹, *iholpan* 30²¹, *iswungon* 28⁵, are of no weight against this, as similar instances are found in parts of MS. Bodley 343, which we know to be copied from OE. originals. Cf. Assmann, *Angelsächsische Homilien*, Kassel, 1889, p. 121, l. 129, *icwædon* for *icweden*, &c.



HISTORY OF THE HOLY ROOD-TREE

A TWELFTH-CENTURY VERSION OF

The Cross-Legend

THE HOLY ROOD-TREE

TWELFTH-CENTURY VERSION.

HER ONGINNÆÐ to sæcgæn be þam treowe þe ðeo rode wæs
 of iwroht . þe úre drihten for alles moncynnes hælo on
 ðrowode . hú hit ærest weaxæn ongan . Wé iherden sæcgen þurh
 sumne wisne mon þ moyses þa þa hé ferde of egyptum ofer þam
 5 ræde sáe mid þam israelitiscan folce þa ðe he hit alysde of phara-
 ones hæfdnæde þa becom he to þare stówe þe inemnæd is quinqua-
 ginta finicas . 7 þer twá niht hine reste . Ða on þare forme nihte
 þe hé þær ræste on þam ylca stude þe he on læz . wurden iwæxene
 ðreo ȝyrdan . þeo an wæs æt his heafod . oðer æt his swiðere
 10 sidan . þridde æt his wunstræn . On mareȝen þa he þeonón aras .
 þa wundrede hé hwæt þare ȝyrdæ tacnunge were . Ða on þare
 æfteræ nihte ne durstlæhte he hine þær to ræstene for þam wundre
 þe he þér iseah . ac ferde þá ȝonen ofer ane mile . 7 his bædræste
 þær ȝearwode 7 þer nihtlangne first iræste ; Ón mareȝen þa hé
 15 awóc þa stoden þa ylcæ ȝyrdan abuten him alswá heo on þare
 ærræn nihte duden . Ða he þa ȝet iseah þa witegode he 7 þus
 cwæð . Soðlice þas ȝyrdæn tacniæð fæder . 7 sune . 7 þone halȝa
 gast . Ða sende he forð all þæt ferd 7 him sylf þér wunode oð
 ða niȝodan tid þæs dæȝes 7 þa ȝyrdæn úp dealf . 7 he sylf héom
 20 forð lædde 7 all þe mid him wæs ferde forð on heoræ
 weȝ ænne dæȝ 7 ane niht swa heo næffre water ne funden . Opres
 æfenes þæs ða bicomen héo to ȝare stowe þe inemned is delemia .
 þa ifunden heo þer þriddiȝ welsprúnges þare bitternes wæs swa

3. hit] *MS. has his.*11. were] *MS. has wero*19. *MS. niȝodan.*19. dealf] *the MS. has deals.*

THE HOLY ROOD-TREE

MODERN RENDERING.

HERE begins to be told concerning the tree of which the rood was wrought on which our lord suffered for the salvation of all mankind, how it first began to grow. We heard it told by a certain wise man that Moses, when he went from Egypt over the Red Sea with the Israelitish people, when he delivered them from 5 the captivity under Pharoah, came to the place which is named Quinquaginta Finicas, and there rested for two nights. During the first night he rested there, on the selfsame spot on which he lay, there grew three rods; the one was at his head, a second at his right side, a third at his left. In the morning when he arose 10 thence, he wondered what the signification of the rods might be. The second night he did not dare to rest there on account of the marvel which he had seen there, but he moved from thence above a mile, and prepared his restingplace there, and rested during the night there. In the morning when he awoke, the same rods were 15 standing round him just as they had done in the first night. When he saw that, he prophesied and said, 'Of a truth these rods betoken the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.' Then he sent all the host away, and himself remained there until the ninth hour of the day, and dug up the rods. And he himself took them 20 away; and all the host that was with him proceeded on their way for a day and a night without finding water. On the next evening after this, they came to the place which is named Delemia. There they found thirty springs, the bitterness of which was so great

swið þ noðer ne món ne nyten þes wateres biten ne mihten . Da on ðare nihte þe heo to þare wicstowe becomen þeo fyrd wearð
 þa þe him mid wæs swiðlice mid þurste iðrest swá þ heo clypoden
 alle anre stefne to him . 7 cwædon . þ heo mid alle forwurðon
 5 mosten buten he héom heore þurst beten wolde oððe he þurh
 héom swelten sceolde Da andswerde hé héom 7 bead héom þ heo
 andbidoden . ane medmycle tid . oþ þ he hine to his drihtine
 10 ȝebede þ he for his mildheortnesse héom to þare nihte heora þurst
 betan scolde . Da becom him feringæ on his þance þ he þa ȝreo
 ȝyrdan nimen wolde 7 heom innan þære wellspryngæ setten wolde
 7 cwæð on his þance þ ȝyf þ soð wære þ ða ȝyrdan from gode isende
 wæron ; [fol. 15] þæt þurh heoræ mægen þeo bitternesse þæs wateres
 to þare nihte to swetnysse iwend wære . Sonæ swa he heom þær-
 on iset hæfde . ða feng he on þ water 7 his ansyne mid aðwoh
 15 7 hit on his muð asende Sonæ swa he ðes wateres swetnysse
 ifelde þa wearð he swiðe bliðe on his mode 7 mid lude stefne
 to ðare ferde clypian ongan 7 þus cwæð . Cumēð hider to me
 7 eower þurst ibæteð of pisse haliȝe watere ðe ure drihten ȝurh
 20 ȝissem ȝyrdæ mægnæ on ðas niht of bitternesse to swætnesse ȝe
 awende Da heo þ ihyrdon þa weron heo mucel iblissode 7 þider
 ȝeornlice efstan 7 þær wunedon ȝreo dæȝæs 7 ȝreo niht . Da on
 ȝene feorþe dæȝ þa heo þonen faren woldon þa eode moyses to
 ȝare welle þe he þa ȝyrdæ on aset hæfde ant heom up ateah 7
 25 mid him lædde . He hæfde an fet to ȝam anum iwoht 7 þ wæs
 ifyllid of þæt ylce watere 7 þa ȝyrdæ þeron asette for þan ȝe he
 nolde þ ða rotен fordruȝode wæron . Da fulden heo alle þa faten
 þe on heoræ fare weron of þam watere . 7 forð mid heom læddon .
 þa hæfdon heo þa ȝyt þe oræ dæȝæ fer aér heo comen to arabiam .
 Da on þa feorðe dæȝe þa comen heo ȝider in to þare burh þe is
 30 inemnod droh ant þer wunoden tweȝe dæȝes . þa on ȝe ȝridde
 dæȝ ferde moyses from ȝare ceastre ant þér ȝæt ferd forlet . 7
 nam mid him þeo hundred his aȝenæ cnihtæ 7 ferde forþ on his
 weiȝ oð ȝet he com to ȝam tune þe is ihaten robathi þær ȝe kyng
 35 wæs on iboren nabucodonosor 7 þær wolde anbidiȝen oð dauid

1. noðer] *the o altered from e,*
7. oþ] *MS. has of.*

15. muð] *MS. has mud.*
19. ȝas] *MS. has das.*

that neither man nor beast could drink the water. That night when they came to the camp, the host that was with him [Moses] was sorely afflicted with thirst, so that they all cried out to him with one voice, and said that they must entirely perish, unless he would assuage their thirst for them; or else [i.e. if he would 5 not] that he should die by their hands. Then he answered them and bade them wait for a short time, until he had prayed to his lord that He, for His mercy's sake, would assuage their thirst that night. Then it came suddenly into his thought that he would take the three rods and place them in the springs; and he said 10 in his thought that, if it were true that the rods had been sent by God, through their power the bitterness of the water would be changed that night to sweetness. As soon as he had put them therein, he took the water and washed his face with it and put some in his mouth. As soon as he tasted the sweetness of the 15 water, he became exceedingly joyful in his mind, and with a loud voice called to the host, and thus spoke: 'Come hither to me, and assuage your thirst with this holy water which our Lord, by the power of these rods, hath this night changed from bitterness to sweetness.' When they heard that, they were greatly rejoiced, 20 and eagerly hurried thither, and remained there three days and three nights. Then on the fourth day, when they wished to move on from thence, Moses went to the spring in which he had placed the rods, and drew them up, and took them with him. He had a vessel made for that purpose alone, and it was filled with the 25 same water; and the rods were put in it, because he would not that the roots should be dried up. Then they filled all the vessels that they had with them on their journey, with the water, and took them away with them. They had then still a three days' journey before they came to Arabia. Then on the fourth day they 30 came thither into the town which is named Droh, and dwelt there two days. On the third day Moses went from the town, and left the host there, and took with him three hundred of his own men, and proceeded forth on his way until he came to the place which is called Robathi, in which king Nebucadnezzar was born; and 35 there he [Moses] would remain until David came to him. And

him come to . 7 dauid hæfde æhtæ daȝene fær from ierusalem to þam tune : þe moyses þa on wæs . þa héo þa togædere comen : þa wunedon heo ætgædere six daȝæs . Ða on þare seofeþe nihte þa com to him godes engel 7 hine grette . 7 hine þriȝe bi his nome 5 nemde 7 þus cwæð . dauid . dauid . þa answarede him dauid 7 ȝus cwæð . Hwæt eart þu la leof þe me on þas tid ȝeciȝdest . Ða andswæreda him þe engel 7 cwæð Ic am godes engel . 7 ic com to bodienne þe þ min drihten me bead . Ða andswæreda him dauid . 7 cwæð Iwurðe mines drihtines wille 10 7 ȝin . Þa cwæð þe engel to him . Aris on ærnemoreȝen 7 þine honden wæcs 7 þin ansyne 7 gá to moyse þer he hine restæð and mid wordum gret 7 ȝus cweð . ȝeblißæ leof fæder moyses . þa dyde he swá ȝe engel him bed . Ða andswærude him moyses . Eala dauid . hwæt is þin neod swá mûcel þet ȝu þus ær cumen 15 eart . Ða andswæreda him dauid 7 cwæð . Ealæ moyses ȝif hit godes wille beo ærest 7 þin syððan . 7 þur þa freondrædene þe unc betweonan is ic wolde wilniæn æt þe ane bêne for þæs almihtiȝes godes lufe ne unrotsæ þu me ; Ða cwæð moyses . þurh ȝene almihtiȝæ drihten ȝe we on bilyfæð 7 for þare freondræddenne 20 ȝe unc betweonæn is . ȝif ic æniȝ þare ȝyfæ habbe [fol. 15^b] þe ȝu ȝyrnende bist : nelle ic [ȝe] unrodsian . and ȝif ic hit on mine anwealde næbbe ne wondiȝe ic syððan ne for golde ne for seolfre þ ic ȝine willen ȝefremme . Ða andswæreda him dauid 7 cwæð Ealæ fæder moyses ne ȝyrne ic naðor ne goldes ne seolfres . Ac 25 ic wolde beon ȝyrnende ȝif hit godes willæ wäre . 7 ic hit wurðe wäre þ ic mid mine eaȝen iseon moste þ þ ic to þe wilniæn wolde Nu bidde ic þe þurh god almihtiȝne þ ȝu his me unne . Ða andswæreda him moyses 7 cwæð . ȝewurðe þin willæ ; Ða ȝæs binnon æhtæ daȝan ȝa wolden heo faren of ȝam tune ȝe heo 30 þa on wæron 7 heo heom þa to ȝan ȝearewoden 7 þa eode dauid in to moyse 7 heo spacon heom þa betweonan . þa cwæð moyses to dauid Eala dauid Me þincð þ ȝu beo swiðe unrotsod for þare bæde þe ȝu imuntest me to biddenne . Ða cwæð dauid Eala fæder moyses Min drihten forscawæð þa sylene þe ic to þe ȝyrnæn 35 wolde forþon hit is me uncuð ȝyt : hwæt þingæ hit beo . Ða

David had an eight days' journey from Jerusalem to the place in which Moses was. When they came together, they remained together for six days. In the seventh night God's angel came to him [David] and greeted him, and named him thrice by his name, and spoke thus, 'David, David, David.' Then David answered him and spoke thus, 'Who art thou, dear Sir, that calledst me at this time?' Then answered him the angel and said, 'I am God's angel, and I am come to announce to thee what my lord ordered me.' Then David answered him and said, 'May my lord's will and thine be fulfilled.' Then said the angel to him, 'Arise in the 10 early morning, and wash thy hands and thy face, and go to Moses where he is resting, and greet him with words, and speak thus: 'Be of good cheer, dear father Moses.' Then he did as the angel bade him. Then Moses answered him, 'Lo, David, what is thy so great desire that thou hast come thus early?' Then answered 15 him David and spoke: 'Lo, Moses, if it be God's will in the first place, and thine afterwards, by the friendship that exists between us I would desire of thee a boon. For the love of almighty God, do not make me sad.' Then said Moses, 'By the almighty lord, on whom we believe, and for the friendship that exists between 20 us, if I have any of the gifts which thou desirest, I will not make thee sad; and if I have it not in my power, I will not hesitate, either for gold or for silver, to perform thy will.' Then answered him David and said, 'Lo, father Moses, I desire neither gold nor silver, but I would fain, if it were God's will and I were worthy 25 of it, be permitted to see with my eyes that which I would ask of thee. Now I beg thee by almighty God, that thou grant me this.' Then answered him Moses and said, 'Thy will be accomplished.' Eight days after that, they desired to go from the place in which they were, and they made themselves ready for 30 so doing, and David went to Moses and they conversed together. Then said Moses to David, 'Lo, David, methinks thou art much saddened on account of the request which thou didst intend to ask of me.' Then said David, 'Lo, father Moses, my Lord knoweth the gift that I would ask of thee, for to me it is as yet unknown 35 what thing it is.' When he had spoken this word, Moses called

he þa ðæt word icwæden hæfde þa clypode moyses him to ænne his cnihtæ þe wæs ihaten robii . He wæs him to þam wunderlice leof 7 itreowæ swa þ he hæfde andweald ofer allæ þa ðingæ þe he æhtæ 7 bead him þ he sceolde dauid to him clypian 7 sceawian 5 him alle þa ðing 7 þa madmæs ðe moyses æhte . Butan hure þingæ he nefræ þa ȝyrdan him sceawiȝen ne moste . Da dyde þe cniht swa moyses him bead þa he hit al isceawæd hæfde : þa cwæð he þ he nán þare ðingæ ȝyrnende nære ðe he ðær iseah . Da spæc ðe cniht to dauid diȝlum wordum 7 þus cwæð . ȝif ic 10 wiste leof þ ȝu mine word hældan woldest 7 ȝu me to mine laforde amældian noldest þonne wolde ic ðe sceawian ȝyt sum ðare ðingæ ðe he me swiðlice forbead þ ic ðe sceawian ne sceolde . Da cwæð dauid þæt he him næfre ameldian nolde . ac þ him mycel willæ wære ȝif he hit iseon moste . þa andswarede þe cniht 15 him 7 cwæð . Ic wat leof ðet ȝit mycele godes lufe 7 mycele freondrædenne habbað inc tweonan . Ic swa ðeah for godes eȝe ne dear ne for ðine arwurðnyssse þ ic it þe ne sceawiȝe 7 secge . Da cwæð dauid . Hwæt þinga mei ðæt beon swa merlices þ ȝu me bihaten hafst to sceawenne : ȝonne ic ær ðissum isceawod 20 habbe alle þa merða ðe under ȝinum anwealde weron Swa ðeah ic ne iseah on þam mange þ þ ic wilnode þ ic iseon moste . Da cwæð ðe cniht ȝif ȝu ðæt isihst : þ ic þe aér bihet hit þe licæð ofer alle þa ȝing ðe þu aér sceawedest . Da cwæð dauid Ne unrotsæ ȝu me na swiðor ac ðurh þone almihtiȝæ god ic bidde þe þ ȝu hit 25 me nu sceawiȝe . Da ðe cniht bi his handan hine nam 7 heom cussan ongan 7 þus cwæð . Ealæ fæder dauid . Beo þu min ȝemyndiȝ . 7 heo þa beȝen in eoden 7 he heom þa swiðe diȝlice him sceawian ongan . Sonæ swa heo on þa ȝyrdi bisæȝen ða bicom heomferinga on áne tid dæzes þær heo stoden þ heoræ naðor nan 30 word cwæðen ne mihte . þa ðæt eft ofer gan wæs þa cwæð dauid to þam cnihte . hu becom þe swa mycel swyȝe on to [fol. 16] þissere hwyle þ ȝu me nan word to ne cwæde Da andswarede him ðe cniht 7 cwæð . Ealæ fæder dauid ðæs ðe iðuht wæs þ mi spece me aetfeallæn wæs . on ðare hwile ða cwæð dauid þ him alswa iðuht

3. ȝingæ] MS. has dingæ.
5. MS. has madmæs.

10. for the first ȝu the MS. has du.

to him one of his servants, who was named Robii. He was so very dear and faithful to him that he had power over all the things he possessed. And he ordered him to call David to him, and to show him all the things and the treasures that Moses possessed. But by no means was he ever to show him the rods. 5 Then the servant did as Moses had commanded him. When he [David] had seen it all, he said that he desired none of those things which he saw there. Then the servant spoke to David with secret words and said thus: 'If I knew, Sir, that thou wouldest keep [secret] my words, and wouldest not betray me 10 to my master, I would further show thee something which he strictly forbade me to show thee.' Then said David that he would never betray him, but that it would be a great joy to him if he might be permitted to see it. Then the servant answered him and said, 'I know, Sir, that ye have much love of God, and great 15 friendship between you. Nevertheless, for the fear of God, and on account of thy worshipfulness, I do not dare to refrain from showing and telling it you.' Then said David, 'What thing may this be of such great excellence, which thou hast promised to show me, now that I have already seen all the glorious things that were 20 under thy guardianship? Yet I did not see in the multitude [of them] that which I desired to be allowed to see.' Then said the servant, 'If thou seest that which I before promised thee, it will please thee above all the things which thou didst see before.' Then said David, 'Do not sadden me further, but by the almighty 25 God, I beg thee to show it me now.' Then the servant took him by his hands and kissed them, and thus spoke: 'Lo, father David, be thou mindful of me.' And they both went in, and he showed them [the rods] to him very secretly.' As soon as they looked on the rods, it came upon them suddenly where they stood, during 30 one hour of the day, that neither of them could utter a word. When that had passed over, David said to the servant, 'How came upon thee so great a silence at this time that thou spakest no word to me?' Then answered him the servant and said, 'Lo, father David, it seemed to me that my power of speech fell away 35 from me during that time.' Then said David that it had seemed

wære Ða ðe þæt þa ofergan wæs ða cwæð hé ic bidde ðe nu ðurh
 ðone almihtiȝa drihten þ ðu me sæcge on hwylcere stowe moyses
 wäre þa he ærest þa ȝyrdæn ifunde . Ða andswærde he him 7
 cwæð On þare stowe ðe inemned is Qvinquaginta finicas þer we
 5 heom fundon Sona swa dauid ðæt ihyrde þa feol he on cneow-
 bedum 7 hine to his drihtine bead 7 ðus cwæð . Drihten ðu ðe
 wrohtest heofene 7 eorðæ 7 alle þa ȝing ðe on þam beoð swutelæ
 me embe þa wilnungæ þe ðe engel me bead þi ic to moyse wilniæn
 scolde Hwæðer hit ðeos isihðe wäre þe ic hér on ȝissum ȝyrdon
 10 iseȝen habbe . ȝif hit ȝonne þi beo send me sume sutelingæ ðurh
 heom Ða he hine þus ibæden hæfde þa com him to godes engel
 7 hine up arerde 7 þus cwæð . Aris 7 isih þis wunder þe on ȝissum
 ȝyrdon iwroht is . þa he þa up aras : ða iseah he ða þre ȝyrdæ
 beornende swylce þer ðreo taporæs burnon . Ða feol he oðre siðen
 15 on cneowbedum 7 clypode to his drihtine 7 þus cwæð . Drihtin
 ðurh ȝin mildheortnesse iswutela me hwæðer ic ȝas ȝyrdon biȝeten
 mote . Ða com him stæfne of heofene 7 to him þus cwæð . Aris
 dauid 7 ga to moyses 7 ȝyrne þas ȝyrdon forþan soðlice þin drihten
 heom ðe ón . Ða dude dauid swá ȝeo stæfne him bead 7 eode to
 20 moyse 7 cwæð him to Leof fæder moyses ic wilniȝe þi ðu sulle me
 þi þi ic to dæȝ iseah ȝær ðu inne wäre . Ða swiȝede moyses 7 þohte
 on his mode þi he ða ȝyrdæn iseȝen hæfde het him þa clypien to
 ȝone cniht ðe he þa ȝyrdan betæht hæfde 7 bead him þi he þa
 ȝyrdar nome 7 heom diȝellice ȝonen lædde . Ða dude þe cniht swa
 25 he him bead . Sonæ swa he heom on hond nimæn wolde þa wurdon
 heo feringæ all furenne swa ðæt þam cnihte forburnon bá twa þa
 handæn all buton ða eármæs . Ða eode he ofstlice in to heom þær
 heo inne wæron 7 heom sceawian ongan ða mycel wrace þe him
 god þurh ða ȝyrdan on asend hæfde . Sone swa heo ȝeron biseȝen
 30 þa wurdon heo mid mycele furlte 7 mid mycele unrotnesse astu-
 rede 7 heo þa alle mid ludere stæfne to heoræ drihtne clypien on-
 gunnon 7 his mildheortnesse bæden ; Ða clypode moyses to þam
 cnihte 7 hine alsiȝan ongon þurh hwæt him swa ilumpen wære .
 Ða andswærde he him 7 cwæð ; Eala laford moyses sonæ swa ic

5. ðæt] MS. has dæt.

5. þa] MS. has þe.

5. MS. has cneowum bedum.

24. ȝonen] MS. has doneñ.

to him even so. When it had passed over, he said, 'I pray thee now by the almighty Lord, that thou tell me in what place Moses was when he first found the rods.' Then he answered him and said, 'In the place which is called Quinquaquinta Finicas, there we found them.' As soon as David heard that, he fell on his knees 5 and prayed to his Lord, and spoke thus: 'Lord, who didst make heaven and earth and all the things that are in them, reveal to me concerning the request which the angel bade me to desire of Moses, whether it be this sight which I have here seen in these rods. If it be that, send me some revelation through them.' When 10 he had thus prayed, God's angel came to him and raised him up, and thus spoke: 'Arise and behold this marvel which has been wrought on these rods.' When he rose up, he saw the three rods burning as though three tapers were burning there. Then he fell a second time on his knees, and cried to his Lord and spoke 15 thus: 'Lord, of thy mercy reveal to me whether I may get these rods.' Then there came to him a voice from heaven, and spoke to him thus, 'Arise, David, and go to Moses and ask for these rods, for, truly, thy Lord gives them thee.' Then David did as the voice commanded him, and went to Moses, and said to him, 'Dear 20 father Moses, I desire that thou give me that which I saw to-day, where thou wast within.' Then Moses was silent, and thought in his mind that he had seen the rods. He ordered the servant to be called to him to whom he had entrusted the rods, and commanded him to take the rods and convey them secretly from 25 thence. The servant did as he bade him. As he was about to take them in his hands, they suddenly became all fiery so that the servant's hands were entirely burnt except his arms. Then he went hastily to them [Moses and David], where they were within, and showed them the great punishment which God had 30 sent upon him through the rods. As soon as they looked thereon, they were moved with a great fear and with great sadness, and they all cried with a loud voice to their Lord and begged for his mercy. Then Moses called to the servant and asked him [*or adjured him to tell him*] how this had happened to him. Then 35 he answered him and said, 'Lo, father Moses, just as I was about

þa ȝyrdan nimæn wolde 7 heom awæ; aleaden alswa ðu me bede
 Ða wurdon héo feringæ all fyrenne 7 me bicóm swa mycel fyrht
 on for þan eȝe þe ic þér iseah þ ic on eorþan feol 7 ic nan ðing
 iseon ne mihte . Ðá ic eft up aras þa wurdon me ba twá þa hondæ
 5 forburnenne of þam brune þe ic þær iseah . Ða wearð moyses
 mycel idrefed . 7 þus cwað . Soðlice ic sungode miclum wið mine
 drihten þurh ȝebod ðe ic þe bead . 7 þurh mine gylt [fol. 16b]
 ðu þolast þinræ handa Ða astræhte moyses hine on eorðan . 7 hine
 mycele onbrurdnesse to his drihtine ibæd 7 þus cwað . Drihten leof
 10 fæder min 7 alles moncynnes þu ðe me sendest on egyptæ lande
 7 ic feorwertiȝ ȝearæ þin folc forþ lædde swa swa ðu woldest .
 ant þu ðe þa ræden sæ adrujan læte þa we ðærofer faren scolden
 to ðy þ ðu us nerian woldest 7 ðu drihten leof me on þare fare
 þas ȝtreo gyrdæn to sendest swa swá þin willæ wæs 7 ic heom
 15 æffre oð þisne dæȝ forþ mid me ferede . 7 nu leof mine enihte
 ȝa honde forswælede beoð þurh heom . Nu drihten leof for þinre
 mycele mildheortnysse swutela me hwæðer ðu heom me leng
 unnon wylle . ȝif þu heom þone leng me ȝeunnon nelle ȝewurðæ
 þine willæ þa com him to godes [engel] ant cwað . Ealæ moyses
 20 þæs ðe ðu ȝyrnende eart hit þe drihten na leng ne on for þan
 ȝingum of ȝare frimðe ðe þu ærest iseȝe godes engel heom com
 to bodiæn dauide to hierusalem 7 þurh his ȝebedu þin cniht sceal
 béon ihæled . 7 Se engel from him ȝewát . 7 dauid swiðe ȝeornlice
 on his bedon ȝurhwunedæ 7 him to his drihtne þus bæd 7 cwað .
 25 Drihten leof þu wuldorfullæ kyng þu ðe me sendest bodian to
 ierusalem þurh þinne halȝan engel hwæt ȝeo wilnunge beon scolde
 þe ic æt moyse wilniæ sceolde 7 þurh þine mildheortnesse þæs
 cnihtes heortæ untyndest þ he me diȝellice þa ȝyrdæn seawode
 7 ic on þan tid mycel liht þerof iseah 7 me mi spæce on ȝare tide
 30 ætfallen wæs swa swa ȝin wille wæs . Nv drihten leof ȝurh þine
 mildheortnysse swutela me hwæðer ic heoræ wurðe beon mote .

1. bede] MS. has bedu.

7. ȝebod] MS. has te bod.

10. fæder] the d altered from f.

15. cnihtæ] c altered from another letter.

18. wylle] y altered from another letter.

to grasp the rods and take them away, as thou didst command me, they suddenly became all fiery, and there came upon me so great a fear on account of the awful sight which I saw there, that I fell on the ground and could see nothing. When I rose up again, both my hands were burnt by the fire which I saw 5 there. Then was Moses greatly troubled, and thus spoke : ' Of a truth, I sinned greatly against my Lord by the command which I gave thee, and it is through my guilt that thou art deprived of thy hands.' Then Moses prostrated himself on the ground, and with much contrition prayed to his Lord and thus spoke : ' Lord, 10 beloved father of me and of all mankind, thou that didst send me to the land of Egypt—and I led thy people for forty years as thou didst will it—thou that didst cause the Red Sea to dry up when we were to pass over it, to the end that thou wouldest preserve us, thou, beloved Lord, didst on that journey send to me 15 the three rods, as was thy will, and I ever carried them with me until this day; and now, beloved Lord, my servant's hands have been burnt up by them. Now, dear Lord, for thy great mercy, reveal to me whether thou wilt grant them to me longer; if thou wilt not grant them to me longer, thy will be done.' Then came 20 to him God's [angel] and said, ' Lo, Moses, that which thou desirest the Lord will no longer grant thee, for the reason that from the beginning when thou didst first see . . . God's angel came to Jerusalem to make them [the rods] known to David, and by his prayers thy servant shall be healed.' And the angel departed 25 from him. And David very fervently continued in his prayers, and prayed thus to his Lord and said, ' Dear Lord, thou glorious king, thou that didst send to Jerusalem to make known to me by thy holy angel what the request was that I should ask of Moses, and didst, of thy mercy, open the servant's heart that he secretly 30 showed me the rods, and I at that time saw a great light [proceeding] therefrom, and my power of speech was taken from me at that hour, as was thy will. Now, beloved Lord, of thy mercy reveal to me

19. *MS. has godes ant cweð, I
have supplied engel.*

24. *MS. has ðurhwunedo.
31. MS. has hwæder.*

ant ȝif hit þin milde willa beo þu ȝam cnihte his hælo ásend . Ða com him stæfne of heofenum 7 hine bi his nome nemde 7 þus cwæð . Dauid . Dauid . Aris þin wop 7 ȝine benæ beoð from drihten ihyred 7 ælces ȝare þingæ þu eard tuðæ þe ȝu to him 5 ȝyrnende wäre 7 ga nú to moyse 7 his bletsunge bide . 7 þu ȝa ȝyrdan nim ant heom mid godes' bletsunge forð mid þe læd . 7 heom mid mycele arwurðnesse heald Forþan ȝe þurh heom all middaneart sceal wurðan onliht . Ða dude dauid swá ȝeo stefne him bæd 7 forð on his wæz ferde mid mucele blisse god herižende 10 7 ȝus cwæðende . Wuldor ȝe beo drihten þare blisse ȝe þu me iunnen hafst 7 he wæs ȝa six dæzes farende ȝa on þam seofeðen dæze he bicom to þare ceastre þe he seolf on iboren wæs þeo is inemned animeni . 7 ȝer wunode æhtæ dæzes . Ða on þam niȝoðe dæze þa sende him roxilus his boden to of þare ceastre ȝe inemned 15 is Iobel ; 7 him cyðan het þe he swiðlice iuntrumod wäre . 7 hine biddan het þe he for his untrumnesse hine neosian sceolde . Ða dyde dauid swa he hine biddan het 7 him rædlice to com . 7 hine neosian ongan . Ða he him to com þa iseah he hu swiðlice he wæs mid [fol. 17] þam swelle iwæced . ȝæt he nan þing iseon ne mihte 20 ac him þe licame al toblawen wæs . Ða wearð dauid mid mucele wope astured 7 hine mid wordum grette 7 þus cwæð Ealæ leof fæder roxile ne beo þu to swiðe iunrodsod for þissere untrumnesse ac ȝebliSSæ on þine drihtine . Ða andswarde roxilus 7 cwæð . Eala þu leofæ freond ic halsiȝe ȝe þurh god sylfne þe ȝu underfo minne 25 sunæ 7 þa ȝestreon þe ic him læfe forþan ȝe ic nu deȝen sceal . 7 ic for þissere untrumnesse him na lenȝ læstan ne mæz Ða sende dauid sonæ his ȝreo cnihtaes þe heo sceoldon cunniæn hwæðer heo myhton ænine mon ofahsian þe hine lacnæn mihte . þa he ȝa embe þe wæs þa com him stæfn of hoefenum þus cwæðende . Dauid 30 nis ȝe nán neod embe þe to swincenne . þu hæfst mid þe sylfum þe ȝu him mid hælpen miht . nim þe water of þan ylcan putte ȝe he ær of dronc þa he þurh ȝone drunc iuntrumæd wæs 7 þa ȝyrdan þeron ásete 7 he hit syððan ȝicge 7 he bið sonæ hal . Ða dyde dauid swa þeo stæfn him bead þa ȝyrdæn ȝeron aðwoh 7 he þæs

14. Before roxilus is an erasure of
a letter.

27. hwæðer] MS. hwæder.

whether I may be worthy of them. And if it be thy gracious will, send health to the servant.' Then there came to him a voice from heaven, and called him by his name and spoke thus: 'David, David, arise! thy weeping and thy prayers have been heard by the Lord; and all the things are granted thee which thou didst ask of 5 him. And go now to Moses and beg for his blessing, and then take the rods and bear them away with thee with God's blessing, and guard them with great honour, because by them all the world shall be illumined.' Then David did as the voice commanded him, and proceeded on his way, praising God with great joy, and 10 thus saying, 'Glory be to thee, Lord, for the joy which thou hast bestowed upon me!' And he then journeyed for six days; then on the seventh day he came to the town in which he himself was born, which is called Animeni, and there remained for eight days. Then on the ninth day Roxilus sent his messengers to him from the 15 city which is called Iobel, and ordered them to make known to him that he was very ill, and to beg him to visit him on account of his illness. Then David did as he [Roxilus] had bade them ask him, and quickly went to him and visited him. When he came to him, he saw how sorely he was afflicted with the swelling, so that 20 he could see nothing, but his body was all distended. Then David was moved with much weeping, and greeted him with words and thus spoke, 'Lo, dear father Roxilus, be not thou too sorely grieved on account of this sickness, but rejoice in thy Lord.' Then answered Roxilus and said, 'Lo, thou dear friend, I entreat thee by God 25 himself to take charge of my son and the possessions which I leave him, because I shall now die, and on account of this sickness can no longer be a help to him.' Then David at once sent his three servants to seek whether they could hear of some man who could heal him. Whilst he was about doing this, there came to him a 30 voice from heaven thus saying, 'David, there is no need for thee to trouble about this, thou hast that with thee with which thou canst help him; take water from the same pit from which he previously drank, when he was made ill by the drink, and put the rods therein and let him afterwards drink it and he will soon be whole.' 35 Then David did as the voice bade him, washed the rods therein,

onburiȝde 7 þeo untrumnesse all aweiȝ awat . Ðá ȝe dauid þ iseah ȝa ongon he his drihten to herien ludre stæfne 7 ȝus cwæð . Wuldor beo þe drihten 7 lof ; þ ȝu þurh ȝine mildheortnesse 7 þurh ȝissæ ȝyrdæ mæȝen þæsne mon ȝehæled hæfst . Ðá he þis 5 icwædon hæfde : þa cwæð þeo stæfn him eft to Eala dauid yfele cwæde ȝu þæt ȝu þa halȝæn mæȝne to ȝyrdon næmdest . Ðá he þa ȝæt iherde þa wearð he miclon afurh 7 ȝus cwæð Eala drihten leof ic swiðlice syngode þurh þ for mine nutennesse ic nuste buton hit swá wäre swa ic iseah ic swa ȝeah wat ȝæt of heom moniȝæ 10 wundræ iwordene beoð ac for þine mycele mildheortnesse swutela me hwæt heo bitacniȝen . þa com him eft ȝeo stæfn to 7 cwæð . Dauid heo tacniȝþ þa halȝan ȝrynnesse . Cypressvs tacnæð þone fæder . Cedrvs tacnæð þone sunæ . Pinus tacnæð þone halȝæ gast Ða ȝe dauid þ ihyrde ȝa wearð he mucel iblissod 7 he mid mucele 15 blisse . 7 glædnesse ham wende . ant þa ȝæs on mareȝen wolde to hierusalem ȝa he wæs on midwæȝe þa comen him to ȝeaneas tweȝen siȝelharwon Sonæ swa heo him to neahlæhton . 7 heo on ȝa ȝyrdon biseȝen ȝa clypoden heo 7 ȝus cwædon Mucele beoð þa mæȝenu ȝe þu mid þe ferest On godes nome wit halsiȝæð þe . þ 20 ȝu unc unne þ wit heom gretan moten 7 unc ȝerto biddan . Ða clypode dauid 7 cwæð . Me ne dafenæð ná inc þ to þafienne . ac ȝif ȝe mildheorte god inc þæs ȝeunnæn wullæ . 7 ȝit þæs wurðe béon : ȝewurðe his willæ . Sona swa he þ icwæden hæfde þa wearð þe earm to þam swiðe aȝened wið heore weard swa þ he nates- 25 hwón hine him to ȝeteon ne mihte . 7 heo ȝa ȝerto [fol. 17^b] ȝeaneas urnon 7 þa halȝæ ȝyrdan gretton 7 heom ȝærto bedon Ða þe heo up arisesen wæron þa wearð all heoræ swartnysse on hwitnesse iwænd . þa clypode all ȝeo meniu þe him mid wæs ant ȝus cwæð . Eala drihten mucele beoð þa wundræ 7 þa mærða ȝe ȝu ȝurh þæs ȝyrdan monnum isceawæd hafest . ant heo wundriende wæron heom betweonon þ heom swá ilumpen wæs . ȝæt heoræ nan oðer icnawæn ne cuðe . Ða bedon heo dauid þ he for godes lufe mid heom to heoræ husæn wendan sceolde 7 nihtlangne first mid heom

7. miclon] o apparently altered
from e.

8. nuste] MS. nust.
12. MS. ȝrymnesse.

and he [Roxilus] drank it, and the sickness all passed away. When David saw that, he praised his Lord with a loud voice and thus spoke, 'Glory be to thee, O Lord, and praise, that thou by thy mercy and the power of these rods hast healed this man.' When he had thus spoken, the voice again spoke to him, 'Lo, David, 5 evilly didst thou speak in ascribing the holy power to the rods.' When he heard that he was much afraid and spoke thus, 'Lo, beloved Lord, I sinned greatly in that, on account of my ignorance, I did not know but that it was as I had seen. I know however that by them [i.e. the rods] many wonders have been wrought. 10 But for thy great mercy reveal to me what they betoken.' Then the voice came to him again and said, 'David, they betoken the Holy Trinity. The cypress signifies the Father. The Cedar signifies the Son. The pine signifies the Holy Ghost.' When David heard that, he was greatly rejoiced, and with much joy and gladness betook himself homewards. And on the morrow after this he would fain go to Jerusalem. When he was mid way, there met him two Ethiopians. As soon as they approached him and looked on the rods, they cried out and spoke thus, 'Great are the powers which thou bearest with thee. In God's name we entreat thee to 20 allow us to touch them and pray to them.' Then David cried out and said, 'It is not befitting for me to allow you that; but if the merciful God will permit it, and ye are worthy of it, his will be done.' As soon as he had said that, his arm was so powerfully drawn out towards them that he by no means could draw it [back] 25 to himself; and they hastened towards it and touched the holy rods and prayed to them. When they had risen up again, all their blackness was turned to whiteness. Then all the multitude that was with him cried out and thus spoke, 'Lo, O Lord, great are the wonders and the marvels which thou hast shown to men through 30 these rods.' And they [the Ethiopians] wondered between themselves that it had so befallen them that neither of them could recognize the other. Then they begged David, for the love of God, to go with them to their houses, and remain with them for the

24. he] MS. has heo.
26. Before urnon a letter has been erased, as also between heo and up in the same line.

24. he] MS. has heo.
26. Before urnon a letter has been
erased, as also
the same line.

wuniæn sceolde . Ða cwæð dauid . Ne dafeneð me ná þ ic inc ðæs wérne ! Ðe ȝit to me ȝyrnæð for þam wundre Ðe ic iseȝen hæbbe . þ god ælmihtiȝ ȝurh incer benæ iwroht hæfð . 7 he ða forð mid héom wænde . Ða Ðe heo to heoræ husæ comen 7 heo in eoden þa 5 eoden heoræ wif heom toȝeanes 7 ðæs wundrian ongunnon hwæt Ðeo meniu wäre þe ȝider icumen wæs . Ða clypoden heo ȝus 7 cwædon . Hwæt beo ȝe oððe hwanon cume ȝe . þa andswarden heoræ aȝene wæras heom 7 ȝus cwædon . Humeta ne icnawe ȝit hwæt wit beoð Ða 7swardon ða wif heom 7 cwædon þ heo heora 10 stæfn onȝitæn sceoldon ac heo heoræ anseone náteshwón icnawæn ne cuðan ; þa andswardon heo . 7 ȝus cwædon . wit habbæþ hidr ibroht þe unc god ælmihtiȝ þurh hine 7 ȝurh ȝaræ halizræ ȝyrdæ mæȝne þe he mid him hæfþ uncorne anwlite þus awende þæs nome is dauid . Se for godes lufe wyle nihtlongne fyrst mid us wuniæn .

15 Donne maȝe ȝe iseon 7 to soðe ilyfæn þ wit beoð þa ylcæ þe ȝit ær cuðon . Ða hit þa euen wæs . 7 dauid þærto com þa Ðe he in eode . 7 þa ȝyrdæ on his honden in ber . Ða þe ða wif ȝæt iseȝen þa cwædon heo to heoræ wæræs Hwi ne swutele ȝe us nu þa wundræ Ðe eowre anwliten to þullican ihwyrfdon . Ða sceawode 20 dauid heom þa ȝyrdæn . þa Ðe heo ȝeron bisæȝen þa urnon heo ȝærto 7 heoræ tweȝen sunæ . 7 woldan ðæs ylcæ wilniæn 7 heom ȝærto ȝebodon . þa heo þonon hwurfon þa wurdon þa tweȝe enihtaes al swa fæzeres hiwæs swa heoræ fæderæs wæron 7 þa modra wæron alswa swearte swa heo ær wæron . Ða clypoden heo 25 7 cwædon Nu hit is swutel hwa godes willæ ær iwroht hæfde 7 he þa nihtlangne first ȝær wunedæ ant on morȝen ȝanon wende to iordanen þare æ Ða heo ða ȝider comen þa næfdæn heo nane scypæn on to farenne . Ða clupode dauid to his wærede 7 bead heom þ heo of heoræ anride lihtæn sceoldon 7 anbidian oð ȝet heom scypæ 30 comen þ heo on faren mihtæn . 7 heo þa swá dydon alle buton him áne . He nateshwón ne mihte ; Ða com him stæfn of heofenum 7 him to cwæð . Dauid nis Ðe nan neod ȝes ȝu hér fóre anbidæst ac þu buton tweonunge ofer faren miht mid þine fare ; [fol. 18] ȝider þin willæ bið . 7 he þa mid mycele blisse ða éa ofer fór . Ða Ðe

7. MS. andswarde.

27. þare æ] the æ has been written

by another hand on an erasure of two or three letters.

night. David said, 'It is not befitting for me to deny you that which you ask of me, because of the wonder which I have seen, which God Almighty has wrought in consequence of your prayer.' And he then proceeded forth with them. When they came to their houses and went in, their wives came out to meet them and 5 wondered what the company was that had come thither. Then they cried out thus and said, 'Who are ye, or whence do ye come?' Their own husbands answered them and thus spoke, 'How, do ye not know who we are?' Their wives answered them and said that they ought to know their voices, but that they could not at all 10 recognize their faces. Then they answered and spoke thus, 'We have brought hither [the man] through whom and through the power of the holy rods which he has with him, God Almighty has thus changed our faces, whose name is David. He, for God's love, will remain with us for the night. Then may ye see and truly 15 believe that we are the same whom ye knew formerly. When it was evening and David came thither, when he went in and bore in the rods in his hands, when the women saw that, they said to their husbands, 'Why do ye not now make known to us the wonders which changed your faces to such [as they are now].' Then David 20 showed them the rods. When they looked thereon they hastened towards them, and their two sons, and would fain ask for the same [boon], and they prayed to them. When they turned away from them again the two youths became of as fair complexion as their fathers, and the mothers were as black as they had been before. 25 Then they cried out and said, 'Now it is manifest who erewhile wrought God's will.' And he then dwelt the night there, and on the morrow went to the river Jordan. When they came thither they had no ships to cross in. Then David called to his company and bade them alight from horseback, and wait until ships came to 30 them in which they might cross. And they all did so except David alone. He could by no means do so. Then there came to him a voice from heaven and said to him, 'David, there is no need for thee to wait here for a means of crossing, but thou mayest without doubting cross over with thy company whithersoever thy desire 35 is.' And he then with great joy crossed over the river. When he

he on middan þare éa wæs þá iseah hine an reoflæ ðe wæs eardizende uppon ðam munte on anon scræfe an hund ȝearæ 7 sixtiȝ ȝearæ . Ða forewitegode he 7 þus cwæð . Nu to dæȝ me cymeð to þe ðe me of ðissan reoflæn hælen wyle . Ðæt is fæder . 7 sune . 5 7 haliz gast . Ðá ðe he þa éa ofer faren hæfde ða wolde he forð on his weȝ to hierusalem . ac þ hors ðe [he] on rád natopþæshwón on þone rihte wæȝ faren wolde . ac ðeo hand ðe he þa ȝyrdæn mid heold wearð aðened wið þæs scræfes weard . Ða wænde dauid to ðam scræfe 7 all ðæt ferd ðe mid him wæs . Ðá ðe he wæs forneah 10 æt þæs scræfes dúræ ða wurdon þa ȝyrdæ þe he on hondæ hæfde on swa mucelle brune þ biforæn alræ þare ferde isihðe ȝewende in to þam scræfe . 7 þá feng þe leȝ ærest on þæs reoflæn fet . 7 swa ȝeond alne þene lichame . þ beföræn heom alle þe reoflæ forborn þe he on his lichame hæfde . 7 he aras swa hal 7 swa isúnd swylce 15 he næfre nane untrumnesse næfde . 7 he þa mid blisse ðænon ut wende 7 hine to þam ȝyrdæn astreahte 7 hine ȝeorne ðærto bead . Ða ðe he up aras . ða clypode he to dauide 7 ðus cwæð . Ic halsiȝ þe on godes almihtiȝe nome þu ȝeunne me þ ic mote beon fuliȝende mid ðe þam halȝæn mæȝene þe me þurh godes fultum ihæled 20 hæfð . Ant he þa for godes lufen him [hors] findon het þ he on faren mihte . 7 heo ða ȝanon wenden 7 comen on æfen to ierusalem ; Ða hæfde dauid ænne wyrttun þe wæs on midden Gessemanni 7 montem oliueti . Ða wæs ðær wiðutæn þam wyrttune án waterpút þe wæs to þam swiðlice bitter ðæt nan mon ne mihte anes dropæn 25 ȝær of anbyriæn . Ða clypode dauid 7 cwæð ðæt he wolde þæt ða gyrdæn nihtlangne fyrist on ȝone pút isette wæron . 7 he ðæs on morȝen heom on his wurtune asettæn wolde . Ða þe reoflæ þ iherde þe ðær ihæled wæs þ he ðet don wolde ða árn he toȝeanes héom . 7 þa ȝyrdæn æt dauide onfeng 7 heom on þone put ásette . 7 hine 30 on þare hwile ðus ibæd 7 cwæð . Drihtæn ðu mildheortæ god ȝif hit ȝin willæ bið ȝecuð ȝine mihte 7 þine wundræ þurh ðas halȝan mæȝenæ on ȝissem stowe alswa ðu dudest innan þam scræfe ðær ic feila ȝeare lame [on] læȝræ læȝ þ mon ilyfe þ ða wundræ soðlice

1. éa] MS. séa.

6. MS. þ hors ðe on rád.

13. MS. reoflæ.

16. MS. ȝyðæn.

20. hors is wanting in the MS.

33. MS. lamelæȝræ.

was in the middle of the river, there beheld him a leper who had been dwelling in a cave on the mountain for a hundred and sixty years. Then he prophesied and thus spoke, ‘Now to-day there cometh to me he that will heal me of this leprosy, that is, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.’ When he [David] had 5 passed over the river, he wished to continue on his journey to Jerusalem, but the horse on which he was riding would by no means go along the right road, but the hand with which he was holding the rods, was stretched out towards the cave. Then David went to the cave, and all the company that was with him. When he was 10 nearly at the door of the cave, the rods, which he was holding in his hand, emitted such great flames that, in the sight of all the company, they penetrated into the cave; and then the fire took hold, first, of the leper’s feet, and so on, over his whole body, so that the leprosy which he had in his body was burnt up before them all, and 15 he arose as whole and sound as though he had never had any infirmity. And he went out from thence with joy, and prostrated himself before the rods, and prayed fervently to them. When he had risen up, he called to David and said thus, ‘I entreat thee in the name of God Almighty, that thou wilt allow me, together with 20 thee, to accompany the holy power which, through God’s help, has healed me. And he [David] for the love of God ordered [a horse] to be found for him on which he might travel. And they then went from thence and came in the evening to Jerusalem. Now David had a garden which was midway between Gethsemane and 25 mount Olivet. There was there, outside the garden, a waterpit which was so bitter that no one could taste a drop of it. Then David cried out, and said that he wished the rods to be placed in the pit for the night, and that he would put them in his garden on the morrow. When the leper who had been healed heard that he 30 intended to do that, he ran towards them [the rods] and received the rods from David, and placed them in the pit, and prayed at that time and said, ‘Lord, Thou merciful God, if it is Thy will, make known Thy might and Thy wonders through these holy powers in this place as Thou didst within the cave, where I lay for 35 many years lame on my couch, that men may believe that the

Ðurh ðe iswutelode beon 7 heo ða ðonon ȝewitan; on mærezen þa
 heo eft ðærtō comen 7 ða gyrdē nimen wolden þa ne mihte heom
 nán mon of ðam stude awæcgan. Ða ðe dauid þ onȝeat þ heo
 nateshwon of ðam stede noldon.² þá het he bitunon þone put into
 5 þam wurttune. Ða ðæs binnon twelf monðum embe þone ylcan dæz
 ða wæron heo togadere iwæxene 7 hæfden ane ælne iwæxen on lenge.³
 7 oðre on græte. 7 weron ufeweard on ðreo toweaxen swylce ðreo
 finger[fol. 18^b]mel ælc on his cun. Ða ðe dauid þæt iseah ða
 het hé wurcean ænne seolfrene hóp of þriddiȝæ pundon 7 bismeoðian
 10 abutæn þæt treow wiðneoðan þæt ðær on ðreo toweaxen wæs. And
 swa hit weox þriddiȝ ȝearæ. ælce ȝearæ áne elne on lenge oðre on
 grete 7 wæs æfre ufeweard toweaxen allswa we ær hef biforen
 specon. 7 allswa felæ ȝearæ swá hit ðer weox swa fela seolfrenæ
 hopæ he ðerto dyde 7 anre ȝehwylc wæs on þriddiȝe pundæ Dauid
 15 leofedæ seofen hund wintra of ðam dæze ðe he þa ȝyrdæn on ðone
 put asetten het; Him þa forð ȝewitenum feng salomon to þam
 kinerice 7 he þa feowertiȝæ ȝearæ timbriæn het þ mucel tempel þ
 mon á syððan het salomones temple. Ða hit ða wæs embe ðone
 timæ þæt mon beames up don sceolde ða wæs ðam wurhtan ðe ðæt
 20 weorc wrohtæn wone anes beames. 7 heo ne mihten on all his
 kinerice finden nænne ðe ðærtō mihte. Ða ferden þa yldestan
 cræftezen binnon ðone wurttún. ðe wæs dauides to ðam halȝan
 treowe ðe he on ðone pút asette 7 ðet ȝemet mid heom bæron 7
 25 ðæt treow ametæn. Ða ðe heo to ðam temple comen þa læȝdon
 heo þ met up to ðam oðre beamum ða wæs hit ane feðme længre
 þonne þa oðre. þa eoden heo in to ðam kynge 7 to him cwædon þ
 heo on alle his kinerice nan swylc treow finden ne mihten swylce
 ðerto wolde buton heo ðæt nimen mosten. Ða cwæð salomon þ he
 natoðeshwón ðafian nolde for ðam ȝingum ðe his fæder hit þær
 30 asetten het 7 he swiðe mucel eȝe. 7 lufe ðerto hæfde. Ac cunniað
 ȝyt hwæðer ȝe hit on æniȝre oðre stowe finden maȝon 7 heo þa swa
 dyden 7 weron seofen niht on socne ac heo hit ná finden ne mihten;
 35 Ða comen heo eft to þam kynge 7 him cudden þ heo hit náhwær

2. þa] þ altered from w.

10. MS. widneoðan.

22. After cræftezen a t has been
partially erased.

25. MS. fedme.

26. oðre] MS. odre.

29. his] the s altered from t.

wonders have truly been manifested by Thee.' And they then departed from thence. On the morrow, when they again came thither and would have taken the rods, no man could move them from the spot. When David perceived that they would by no means [be moved] from the spot, he ordered the pit to be enclosed 5 within his garden. Twelve months later, on that very day, they had grown together, and had grown one ell in length and another in thickness, and above they had grown into three separate [branches], as it were, three finger lengths, each after its kind. When David saw that, he had a silver hoop, of thirty pounds, made 10 and forged round the tree beneath where it separated into three [branches]. And thus it grew for thirty years, each year one ell in length and another in thickness, and above it was always divided as we said before, and as many years as it was growing there, so many silver hoops he put round it, and each of them was of thirty 15 pounds. David lived seven hundred winters from the day on which he had the rods placed in the well. After his death, Solomon succeeded to the kingdom, and he then, during a space of forty years, caused the great temple to be built which has ever since been called Solomon's temple. When it was time to put up the beams 20 [into their places], the workmen who were engaged on the work were in want of a beam, and they could not find one that was suitable in all his kingdom. Then the oldest craftsmen went into the garden which was David's, to the holy tree which he had placed in the well, and took their measure with them and measured the tree. 25 When they came to the temple they applied the measure to the other beams, and it was one fathom longer than the others. Then they went in to the king, and told him that in all his kingdom they could find no such tree as would be fitting, unless they were allowed to take that. Then said Solomon that he would by no means con- 30 sent, for the reason that his father had had it placed there, and he himself felt great awe and affection for it. 'But try still further whether ye can find it [a suitable tree] in any other place.' And they did so, and were seven days in the search, but they could not find it. Then they came again to the king, and made known to 35 him that they could find it nowhere else, unless they were allowed

findæn ne mihton elles buton heo þ nimen mosten . Ða het he
 heom faren to 7 forceorfan hit 7 þ seolfer him to bringan Ȣe hit
 mid bifangen wæs . heo þa swa dyden forceurfon Ȣæt treow wið
 Ȣone grund 7 biheowon hit on þare ilce stowe 7 hit in to Ȣam temple
 5 beron 7 þ seolfer to him brohten 7 he nom þa þa prittizæ sylfrenæ
 hopæ 7 let slean to Ȣrittizæ discæn 7 let heom hón in to þam
 temple for his fæder sawle . þa wæs Ȣæt ylcæ seolfer þ þe unsæliȝ
 iudas ure drihten to deaþe fore bileawede . þa Ȣe þ treow in to þam
 temple ibroht wæs þa eoden þa ylcæ Ȣerto þe hit ær imeten hæfdon
 10 7 þ ylcæ ȝemet þerto læðdon . þa Ȣe hit þær nyðer ilæðd wæs þa
 wæs hit twam fæðmum længre þonne þ imet were . Ða weron heo
 swiðe asyrrhte 7 hit þam kinge cyddon 7 þe kyng ofstlice þider wende
 7 wolde [fol. 19] witæn hwæt his soðes wäre . Ða he Ȣa Ȣæt iseah
 þa wearð he mid swi licere hatheortnysse ástured 7 cwæð þ heo
 15 deaþe scyldiȝe wæræn þ heo hine mid heoræ leasungæ on Ȣon ibroht
 hæfdon . Het hit þa up ahebban Ȣær hit to sceolde . þa Ȣe hit
 Ȣerto ibroht wæs þa wæs hit twam fæðmæ sceortre þenne Ȣa oðre .
 Ða þe he Ȣæt iseah þa wearð he swiðe ȝeforht iworden 7 bæd þ hit
 mon adun don sceolde 7 hit into þam temple lecgæn 7 he swiðlice
 20 bereowsode þ he swa mucel agult hæfde þurh Ȣæt haliȝ treow .
 Bead heom þa þ heo Ȣa ȝyt út wendon sceolden 7 fondian hwæðer
 heom god almihtiȝ aeniȝ oðer asendon wolde . 7 heo þa swa dyden .
 On Ȣone ylcæ dæȝ þa funden heo sonæ eall þ heo wolden . 7 hit to
 him brohten . 7 heo Ȣa hit brohten Ȣær hit beon sceolde 7 þ haliȝ
 25 treow innan þam tempel læȝ áa oð þeo tid com þe ure drihten þrowian
 wolde 7 Ȣærinne fela wundra iwrohte weron þurh Ȣæt haliȝ treow .
 Hit ilamp hwilon þ Ȣerto eoden hundtentiȝe iudeiscræ monnæ 7 þ
 treow nimæn wolden 7 hit to þæs sacerdes botle beron wolden .
 Ðæs nome wæs cericius he wæs on þam time miclæn abisgod embe
 30 his botlungæ 7 imynt hæfde þ he ȝ ylcæ tréow Ȣerto dón wolde .
 Ȣa ne mihte heora nán hit of þam styde awecgæn . þa yrsode he
 wið heom 7 cwæð . þ hit heoræ leasung were . 7 wende þa himsylf
 Ȣertó 7 het him mid bringæn swa fela æxæ swa mon biȝeten mihte
 7 he sylf Ȣerto feng 7 heo hit wolden ut of þam temple hæbben .
 35 þa ne mihte heoræ nán hit awecgan Ða het he heom mid heoræ
 æxum to gán 7 hit on Ȣreo toceorfæn . Ða wearð hit swa heard

to take that one [in David's garden]. Then he bade them go and cut it down, and bring him the silver with which it was encircled. They did so, cut down the tree to the ground and hewed it on the same spot, and bore it into the temple, and brought him the silver. And he took the thirty silver hoops, and had them made into thirty 5 plates, and hung in the temple for his father's soul. That was the same silver for which the wretched Judas betrayed our Lord to death. When the tree had been brought into the temple, the same [workmen] went to it that had formerly measured it, and applied the same measure to it. When it was laid down there, it was two 10 fathoms longer than the measure was. Then they were sorely afraid, and made it known to the king. And the king went thither in haste, wishing to know what of it [i. e. of their report] was true. When he saw it, he was stirred with exceeding wrath, and said that they were worthy of death for having, by their lying, brought him to 15 this. Then he ordered it to be raised to the place where it was to go. When it was put there, it was two fathoms shorter than the others. When he saw that, he was much afraid, and ordered them to bring it down and lay it in the temple, and he sorely repented having sinned so greatly with respect to the holy tree. He bade them 20 then go out again, and try whether God Almighty would send them any other. And they did so. On the same day they soon found all that they wanted, and brought it to him, and they then took it where it was to be placed, and the holy tree lay always within the temple until the time came when our Lord would suffer. 25 And many miracles were wrought therein by the holy tree. It happened on a time that a hundred Jewish men went thither, and wished to take the tree and to bear it to the priest's house, whose name was Cericius. He was at that time much occupied with his building, and had resolved to use that same tree for it. But 30 none of them could move it from the spot; then he grew angry with them, and said that it was their lying, and himself went thither and bade them bring with him as many axes as they could get, and

swylce hit stælen wære . 7 þare æxene swengæs ȝewendon on ðare
 ansyne þe hit ceorfæn scéolden Da feringæ heom ealle on hawi-
 ȝende asprong þær fýr on ȝreo healfe ȝæs treowæs ant forbernde
 sixtiȝ monnæ of þam monnum þe hit forceorfæn wolden 7 þone
 5 preost forð mid . 7 heoræ heretoȝæ wæs . Da oðre for þare myclæn
 fyrhto þe heo ȝer iseȝen út aeturnon ; þa héo ȝanon ut comen 7
 þa iseȝen heo 7 eal þeo ceasterwaræ on ierusalem þe leȝ wæs huru
 feowertiȝ fæðmæ heh þe up of ȝam temple eode . 7 alle þa ȝe on
 10 ȝare ceastre wæron on hierusalem mid mucele fyrhto fleonde wæron
 for þam myclan eȝe þe heo þær iseȝen . of þam dæȝe næs nan mon
 swa durstiȝ þis ætrinæn durste . Dider com in gangen hwilon
 15 án meretrix 7 hire ȝær onuppon set unmyndlingæ . þa feringæ
 wearð heo bæften al on brune æȝðer ȝe þe ræȝl þe heo on hæfde ȝe
 þe lichamæ al wiðæftan . þa ræsde heo úp 7 mid ludre stæfne rymen
 20 ongan 7 heo ȝus forewitegian ongan 7 cwæð . Eala ȝu eadiz treow
 þis alles middaneardes hælend ón hangiæn sceal . Da ȝa [fol. 19^b]
 iudeiscan sacerdæs þiherdon þa nomen heo hire 7 hire swiðlice
 swingæn ongunnon 7 hire mid unȝemetlice pine tintreȝian ongunnun
 25 7 heo æt hire witon wolden hwæt heo mid þam worde mende þe heo
 crist nemnen scolde . Heo andswarede 7 cwæð þe heo natoþeshwón
 þe secgan ne cuðe ne heo nyste hwæt buton allswa hit hire ón muðe
 bicom . Heo þa nomon hyre . 7 on carcerē sendon 7 hire þerinnon
 biclysysde 7 heom ȝanon witan . Da on þære nihte com hire tó godes
 30 engel 7 hire bi hire nome nemðæ 7 to hire ȝus cwæð . Sibillæ beo
 ȝu istrongod 7 þu naht þæs tintreȝa ne ondred forþam þe heo beoð
 ȝe to mycele blisse iȝearwod . 7 þurh þe heo ȝinne lichame .
 iswenged 7 ipinod habbað þin sawle sceal to éce reste bicumen .
 On morȝen þa heo eft tó þam carcerne comen 7 hire út læddon þa
 35 clypoden heo to hire 7 þús cwædon ȝu myllestre sæȝ us hwæt ȝæt
 word bihealde oððe hwa ȝe þerto wissode þe þu swa beotlice clypien
 ongunne . Da andswarde heo 7 ȝus cwæð . ne sæcge ic eow ȝyt na
 mare þonne ic aer sæde . ac ic þe to soðe wát þá þá ic ȝonne bryne
 ȝerinne þrowode þurh mine forwurhtæ swa swa godes willæ þa wæs ;

3. MS. teowæs.

15. treow] the o altered from another letter.

4. MS. monñ.

25. þe] the þ altered from w.

27. MS. iswenged.

he himself took hold of it [the tree], and they tried to lift it out of the temple. But none of them could move it. Then he bade them go to it with their axes, and cut it into three pieces. Then it became as hard as though it were of steel, and the strokes of the axes turned against the faces of those who were to cut it. Then 5 suddenly, whilst they were all looking on, fire started out on three sides of the tree, and burnt sixty of the men who were trying to cut it, and the priest with them, who was their leader. The others, for the great terror which they beheld there, ran out. When they came out from thence, they and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem 10 saw that the fire which went up from the temple was at least forty fathoms high ; and all that were in the city, in Jerusalem, fled with great fear, on account of the great terror which they beheld there. From that day there was no man so daring that he durst touch it. Thither came once a certain meretrix, and seated herself thought- 15 lessly upon it. Suddenly she was all on fire behind, both the garment she had on, and her body all behind. Then she sprang up, and with a loud voice cried out, and thus prophesied and said, ‘Lo, thou blessed tree, on which the Saviour of all the world shall hang !’ When the Jewish priests heard that, they took her and beat 20 her sorely, and tortured her with extreme torture, and they wished to learn from her what she meant by naming Christ. She answered and said that she could not tell, and that she knew nothing but that these words had come to her mouth. They then took her and put her into prison, and shut her in there and departed. In the night 25 God’s angel came to her, and called her by her name, and thus spoke to her, ‘Sibilla, be thou comforted, and dread not these tortures, for they are prepared for thee [as a means] to great bliss ; and because they have beaten and tortured thy body, thy soul shall come to everlasting rest. On the morrow when they again came 30 to the prison and led her out, they called to her and said thus : ‘Thou harlot, tell us what that word signifies, or who it was led thee thus exultingly to cry out.’ Then she answered and thus

Sona swa ic ðæt word icwedon hæfde me þe licame ihæled wæs . Nu sende ȝe on mine lichame swulce tintreȝa swulce ȝe wullen ne mæȝe ȝe ná ȝe mí þa sawle aræcan. Héo þa nomen hire 7 mid teartrum swinȝellum swungon oð ȝet hiræ licame wearð swa swiðlice 5 iswungan swulce he mid seaxum tosnædod wäre . Swa heo hire six dæȝes dæȝhwamlice mid swiðlice swingelle swungon 7 hire ȝonne on efen on cwearterne biclusdon . 7 on morȝen þonne heo hire ȝanon ut læddon þonne eode héo út hal 7 isund ȝa þæs binnon fif nihte com hire tó godes engel oðre siðe 7 hire to cwæð . Sibilla . 10 ȝu wäre aer meretrix on ȝissem worulde ac þu eart nu godes icorenæ . þu wäre aer sibilla ihåten ? ȝu eart nú susanna inemned . Nú to ȝisse dæȝe þu sceald þone eadiȝ wuldorbeah undersón ȝe þu þurh ȝæs tintreȝa iearnod hafest 7 swa hwæt swa ȝu to gode ȝyrnende bist þu bist tyðæ . Ȑa antswared heo þam engle 7 þus cwæð . 15 Ane bene leof ic ȝyrnen wolde ȝif hit min mæȝð wäre þi ic hit ȝyrnan durste . þi ure drihten me unnon wolde ȝif hit his mildæ willæ wäre þonne ȝeo tid cuman scolde þi he þrowian wolde . þi ic ȝonne þa halȝa rode iseon moste . Ȑa andswarde þe engel hire 7 þus cwæð . Eall hit bið swa ȝu bidest . 7 þe engel hire þa from 20 wende . Sonæ on þi dæȝred þa comen þa ylcæ þe hire tintreȝedon 7 hire ut of þam carcerne læddon Sonæ swa heo ut com þa clupode heo 7 þus cwæð . Nu hit is þe timæ þi ȝe to sæles eower ȝewin endian moten . Sonæ swa heo þi word icweden hæfde þa comen godes englæs 7 hire sawle of þam licame nomen 7 hire mid heom 25 læddon . An ȝare iudeiscræ monnæ þa ȝerto racode 7 he mid his sweorde hire þi heafod of asloh 7 heo ȝa ȝer swiðne mucelne ád onældon 7 imynt hæfdon þi heo ȝone lichame nimen wolden 7 hine to duste forbernon . Ȑa wæs on þære meniu þæs folces an swiðe welȝ wif sone swa heo iherde þi heo þi don wolden þa ferde heo tó 30 mid alle þam folce þe heo mid hire hæfde 7 þone licamæ nedyngæ æt heom nám 7 hine forð mid hire feriæn het 7 hine innon hire aȝene huse on stænene ȝruh arwurðlice biburiȝen het . Ȑa [fol. 20] iudeiscæn þa mucelne sinoð heom bitweonon hæfden , 7 heo ȝa rædden þi heo þæs wifes botle al forbernon wolden . Ȑa þæs binnon þreom

spoke : ‘ I tell you no more now than I told you before, but that I know of a truth that whilst I was suffering the burning therein [i. e. in the temple] for my sins, as it was God’s will, as soon as I had spoken that word, my body was healed. Now inflict on my body what tortures ye please, for all that ye cannot touch my soul.’ Then 5 they took her and beat her with sharper strokes, until her body was so severely beaten as though it had been cut with knives. Thus they beat her with severe scourging daily for six days, and then in the evening shut her in the prison ; and in the morning, when they led her out from thence, she went out whole and sound. Five nights 10 after this, God’s angel came to her a second time and spoke to her, ‘ Sibilla, thou wast formerly a meretrix in this world, but now thou art a chosen one of God ; thou wert formerly called Sibilla, thou art now named Susanna. Now on this day thou shalt receive the blessed crown of glory which thou hast merited by these tortures ; 15 and whatsoever thou askest of God, thou shalt receive.’ Then she answered the angel and thus spoke : ‘ One boon, Sir, I would fain ask,—if I be worthy to dare to ask it—that our Lord should grant me, if it be his merciful will : [namely] that when the time shall come when he shall suffer, I might be allowed to look upon the 20 holy rood.’ Then the angel answered her and said thus : ‘ It shall be as thou askest.’ And the angel then departed from her. Soon, at dawn of day, there came to her the same that had tortured her, and led her out of the prison. As soon as she came out, she cried and said thus : ‘ Now is it the time that ye must straightway end your 25 tortures.’ As soon as she had spoken that word, God’s angels came and took her soul from her body, and bore it with them. One of the Jewish men hastened up to her and struck off her head with his sword ; and then they kindled there a very large fire, and intended to take the body and burn it to dust. Now there was 30 amongst the crowd of people a very wealthy lady. As soon as she heard that they purposed doing that, she approached with all the people she had with her, and took the body from them by force, and had it borne away with her, and buried honourably in a stone coffin within her own house. The Jews then held a great meeting 35 amongst themselves, and determined that they would burn down

dažum héo comen alle ham to þam wife 7 heo þa swiðlice hire
 ðreatižen ongunnon þ heo þone lichame aȝyfen scolde Butom heo
 þ don wolde þ heo wolden hire sylf forbernen 7 all þ heo ahte . þá
 þ wif þ ihyrde ða eode heo on dižlon 7 hire to drihtne bæd 7 ðus
 5 cwað . Drihten leof ðu zeðafodest þissæn unlædan þ heo ðæsne
 licame on hire life swiðe cwylmdon 7 berndon þurh an word þ heo
 þine halža nome forewitegode . ȝif ðu heom iðafien wulle ðæt heo
 ðone lichame leng dreccen scylon ȝewurðe ȝin wille . ȝif hit þonne
 10 ȝin willæ ne beo for ȝinre mildheortnysse swutela to ȝissum dæze
 ȝin wuldor þurh heom . Sonæ swa heo hire ðus ibæden hæfde heom
 alle on locižende þ hus þ þe halžæ lichame inne biburized wæs
 wearð al innan on brune of ðare þruh ȝe heo on læz 7 þe læz on
 ælce healfe út ræsle þ heo nan oðer nyston buton heo alle for-
 beornæn scolden 7 heo ða swiðe unȝeheortlice ðanon flužon . Sonæ
 15 swa heo ðanon wændon þa wearð þe bryne adwæsced . þ wif ða
 sonæ in eode 7 hire sunæ to hire clypode 7 to him ðus spæc . Eale
 þu sune min mucele beoð þa wundræ þe hér to dæz iwordene beoð .
 Nu bidde ic ȝe þ ðu næfræ þas isilhðe ne forȝymeleasæ ac hy fæste
 20 on ȝine imynde heald for þam ȝingum [þe] of ðam halžan treowe
 þe on salomones temple ibroht is ȝis wundor iworden is . 7 ȝurh
 þ all middaneard iholpan bið . 7 heo þa cyrccan aræren het ofer
 ða ȝruh þe ȝe lichame inne reste . Æfter þan ȝe þis iworden wæs
 binnon sixtiȝ ȝearæ ðæs . ȝrowode ure drihten þa he wæs þrittig-
 wintre . Ða hit ða wæs embe þone timæ þ ða arleasæ iudei hine
 25 hón wolden . þa ne mihten heo on nane stowe swylc treow finden
 swyloc he hine on hón wolden . Ða clupode heoræ án 7 cwað ðæt
 on salomones temple án treow wære þ he wende þ ȝerto mihte . Ða
 clypede caiphas ofer heom alle 7 ceas of heom allon ȝreo hund
 monnæ 7 heom bead þ heo ȝerto faren scolden 7 þ treow to him
 30 feccan . Ða ȝe heo ȝerto comen ða ne mihte heoræ nán hit awecgan
 Ða wendon heo sume eft onȝean to him 7 him þ cuddon ȝær he
 het faren to 7 forceorfæn hit on ȝreo heo nateshwón ne mihten .
 ða iwearð hit bitweonæn héom þ heo ámæten týn ælnæ of ðam

19. [þe] is wanting in the MS.

23. MS. drihten 7 þa.

24. hine] MS. hi.

25. wolden] d altered from another

letter.

29. MS. monñ,

the lady's house. Three days afterwards, they all came to the lady's house, and threateningly demanded that they should give up the body. Unless she did so, [they threatened] that they would burn her and all that she had. When the lady heard that, she went in secret and prayed to the Lord and thus said: 'Dear Lord, 5 Thou didst permit these wretched ones sorely to torture and burn this body whilst she lived, on account of one word, [namely] that she foretold Thy holy name. If Thou wilt permit them to illtreat this body still longer, Thy will be done. But if it be not Thy will, for Thy mercy's sake make known this day Thy glory on them.' 10 As soon as she had thus prayed, whilst all were looking on, the building in which the holy corpse was buried took fire within from the coffin in which she lay, and the fire started out on every side, so that they believed nought else, but that they would all be consumed by the fire, and they fled from thence greatly terrified. 15 As soon as they had departed, the fire was quenched. The lady then went in at once, and called her son to her, and thus spoke to him: 'Lo, my son, great are the wonders that have been wrought here to-day! Now I beg thee that thou never become heedless of that which thou hast seen [*lit.* of this sight], but hold it fast in thy 20 memory, for the reason that this miracle has been performed by the holy tree which was brought into Solomon's temple; and by it all the world shall be helped.' And she ordered a church to be erected over the coffin in which the body rested. Sixty years after this had happened, our Lord suffered, when He was thirty years old. When 25 the time had come that the wicked Jews wished to crucify Him, they could in no place find such a tree as they would fain crucify Him on. Then one of them cried out and said that in Solomon's temple there was a tree which he thought would be suitable thereto. Then Caiaphas called out over them all, and chose from them all 30 three hundred men, and commanded them that they should go thither and fetch him the tree. When they came thither, none of them could move it. Then some of them went back to him, and made this known to him. He ordered them to go and cut it into three pieces, but they could by no means do so. Then they agreed 35 among themselves that they would measure ten ells of the tree and

treowe 7 þ of acurfæn 7 heo þa swa dyden . þa tweȝen deales heo nateshwón forceorfan ne mihten. Ða tyn ælnæ heo on twa toslæf-don 7 on ȝam ilcæn temple hit all biheowen 7 þa halȝæ rode ȝerof wrohten 7 ure drihten sylf hire eft ut of þam temple ber . Ðis 5 wæs all idón on þone ylcæ friȝdæi þe he ȝrowian ongon . Ða tweȝen dæles ȝæs halȝæ treowæs wæron áá innan ȝam temple 7 nan mon heom ætrinæn ne durste . Ða ȝæs binnon þeo hund wintræ 7 xxx wintrum ȝa sancta helena to hierusalem com . 7 þa halȝa rode sæcan ongón . Ða heo ȝe halȝe rode swa hit godes almihtiȝes 10 foresceawunge wæs ifunden hæfde heo ȝa in to þam temple com 7 heo þæt treow sceawian ongón . Ðá axode heo hwæt hit wære . oððe hwænon hit come . þa sæde hire mon [fol. 20^b] þ hit wære ilæfed of ȝare halȝa rode 7 heo þa ȝeornlice smeade hú hire embe þ to donne wære . Ða on þa ylcan nihte þa heo on hire reste wæs þa com 15 hire an stæfne tó ȝæs ȝe hire iðuht wæs þ hit godes engel wære 7 hire bi hire nome nemde 7 hire ȝeþuht wæs þ heo innan ȝam temple wære 7 þa bead ȝe engel hire þ heo sceolde þ halȝ treow on feower toceorfan 7 imæten þa feower dæles þ ælc wære tyn ælnæ long 7 bead þ heo scolde senden þa feower dæles on feower healfe 20 ȝisses middaneardes Heo ȝa on morȝen dude allswa ȝe engel hire bead 7 heo þ halȝ treow mid mucelle arwurðnesse forð mid hire ferien het to constantinopolim 7 þa halgæ rode forð mid . Sonæ swa heo innon þare ceastre cóm constantinopolim ȝa mon ferede toȝeanes hire ænne forðfarene mon þa het heo þ folc anbidæn ane 25 metmucele tid . ȝa hæfde héo éacs wylce ȝa oðre rode þe ȝe sceapæ ón ahón[gen] wæs þa smeade heo on hire ȝance on hwæðere crist ahon-gen wæs . Ða nom héo arest þeo rode ȝe þe sceadæ on hongode . 7 hire uppon ȝene deaden alæȝde 7 he læȝ forð alswa he ær dude . þa het heo ȝa oðre nimen 7 uppon him settæn . sone swa heo ȝam 30 deade neahlæhte þa arás hé sonæ ȝa ȝe heo ȝæt iseah þa wearð heo mucel iblissod 7 heo in to þam kinge eode constantine . 7 him cydde þa merðæ þe heo mid hire ibroht hæfde . Ða ȝæs binnon six daȝum þa fullode siluester þe papæ þone iudam þe sancta helene

21. *MS. arwurdnesse.*26. *for the first ahónen the MS. has ahón, which stands at the end of the line and is followed by a short**stroke indicating that only part of the word has been written. The scribe, however, forgot to add the gen at the beginning of the next line.*

cut that [length] off, and they did so. The [remaining] two parts they could not by any means cut. The ten ells they cut into two pieces and, in that same temple, hewed it all [i.e. the ten ells] into shape, and made the cross of it, and our Lord himself afterwards bore it out of the temple. This was all done on the same Friday 5 on which he suffered. The [remaining] two parts of the holy tree remained always within the temple, and no man dared to touch them. Then, 330 years after, Saint Helena came to Jerusalem and sought for the holy rood. When she had found the holy rood, as it was Almighty God's providence, she went into the temple and saw 10 the tree. Then she asked what it was and whence it came. They told her that it was left from the holy rood [i.e. that it was the portion left after the wood for the holy rood had been cut off], and she then earnestly meditated what she ought to do with it. In the same night when she was on her couch, there came to her a 15 voice in such wise that it seemed to her to be God's angel, and it named her by her name, and it seemed to her that she was inside the temple; and then the angel bade her cut the holy tree into four parts, and measure the four parts so that each should be ten ells long, and he bade her send the four parts to the four quarters 20 of this earth. On the morrow she did as the angel commanded her, and ordered the holy tree to be carried with her thence to Constantinople with great honour, and the holy rood as well. As soon as she came within the city of Constantinople, a dead man was borne towards her. Then she bade the people wait for a short time 25 —for she had also the other cross on which the robber was crucified —then she meditated in her mind on which of the two Christ was crucified. Then she first took the cross on which the robber had hung, and laid it upon the dead man; and he still lay [dead] as he did before. Then she ordered the other to be taken and placed 30 upon him; as soon as it approached the dead man, he straightway arose. When she saw that, she was greatly rejoiced, and went in to the king, Constantine, and made known to him the marvellous things that she had brought with her. Six days after this, Silvester, the pope, baptized Judas, who had shown Saint Helena the 35

31. mucel] MS. mueel.

þa rode tæhte . 7 hine bi nome ciriacum nemde 7 hine on ȝone
 ilce dæȝe to arcebiscop halȝode . 7 ȝes on morȝen he wende to
 ierusalem . 7 heo forð mid him þa tweȝen dæles sealde oðerne dæl
 he scolde dón to ierusalem . oðerne to alexandriam . 7 þone ȝridde
 5 dæl þe papæ siluester forþ mid him to romeburiz hæfde . þone
 feorðan del heo mid hire hæfde on constantinopolim . Binnon
 þreom daȝum þæs ȝeo haliȝ rod ifunden wæs iudas ȝeaf sancta
 helenæ þa fif næȝlæs ȝe ure drilten mid inæȝlæd wæs ; on þare
 ilcan nihte com hire to godes engel þa heo on hire reste wæs . 7
 10 hire be hire nome nemde 7 þus cwað . Heléna aris 7 þa næȝlas
 nim 7 ȝerof wurcean hât þ myld to constantines bridle þines sune
 7 nis æniȝ þ him syððan wiðstanden maȝe . 7 moniȝ scylen on god
 bilyfæn þurð þa wundræ ȝe of ȝam bridle wurðaþ . Da axode heo
 hine hwæðer heo scolde þa næȝlæs mid hire læden þe heom ȝær
 15 læten wurcen . þa andswarde hire þe engel 7 ȝus cwað . ȝu ne miht
 heom ná of ȝissere stowe læden ær heo iwrohte beon ac ȝu scealt
 heom hér wurcen haten . 7 ȝone bridel syððan mid þe læden 7 heo
 þa dyde swa ȝe engel hire bead 7 heo ȝa mildnæȝlæs wurcen hét 7
 hire sylf ȝermid wæs . 7 on ȝare hwile ȝe heo song þriȝæ þ haliȝ
 20 bed þ is pater noster þa mild wæron iwrohte . 7 heo heom to con-
 stantine brohte hire sunæ 7 þonne he on ráde wæs ȝonne wende of
 ȝæs horses muðe se liȝ þ mon mihte ofer ane mile iseon 7 aelic þare
 þe þ wundor iseȝen swiðe afurhte weron 7 heo þurh þ cristendom
 underfengon 7 swá hé wæs þreo ȝear farende . Swa wide swa he
 25 hine mid him lædde swa wide mon cristendom underfon wolde .
 Da ȝa þreo ȝear ifyllede wæron þa com him godes engel to 7 cwað .
 Constantinus nu hit is þe timæ þ ȝu mid godes bletsungæ eft on-
 ettan scealt to ȝare halȝan ceastre constantinopolim for þam ȝingum
 ȝe þú godes wille 7 his bibod fulfremedlice ifulled hæfst . Da dude
 30 he sonæ swa þe engel him bead . sone swa he þider cóm . þa het
 - he þone bridel nimen 7 þa halȝæ irenu of aliniæn het . 7 heom
 mid mucele arwurðnesse in to þare halȝæ rode ahón hét ȝær ȝyt
 oð þysne andweardan dæȝ heo ihaldene weron Amen Amen ;

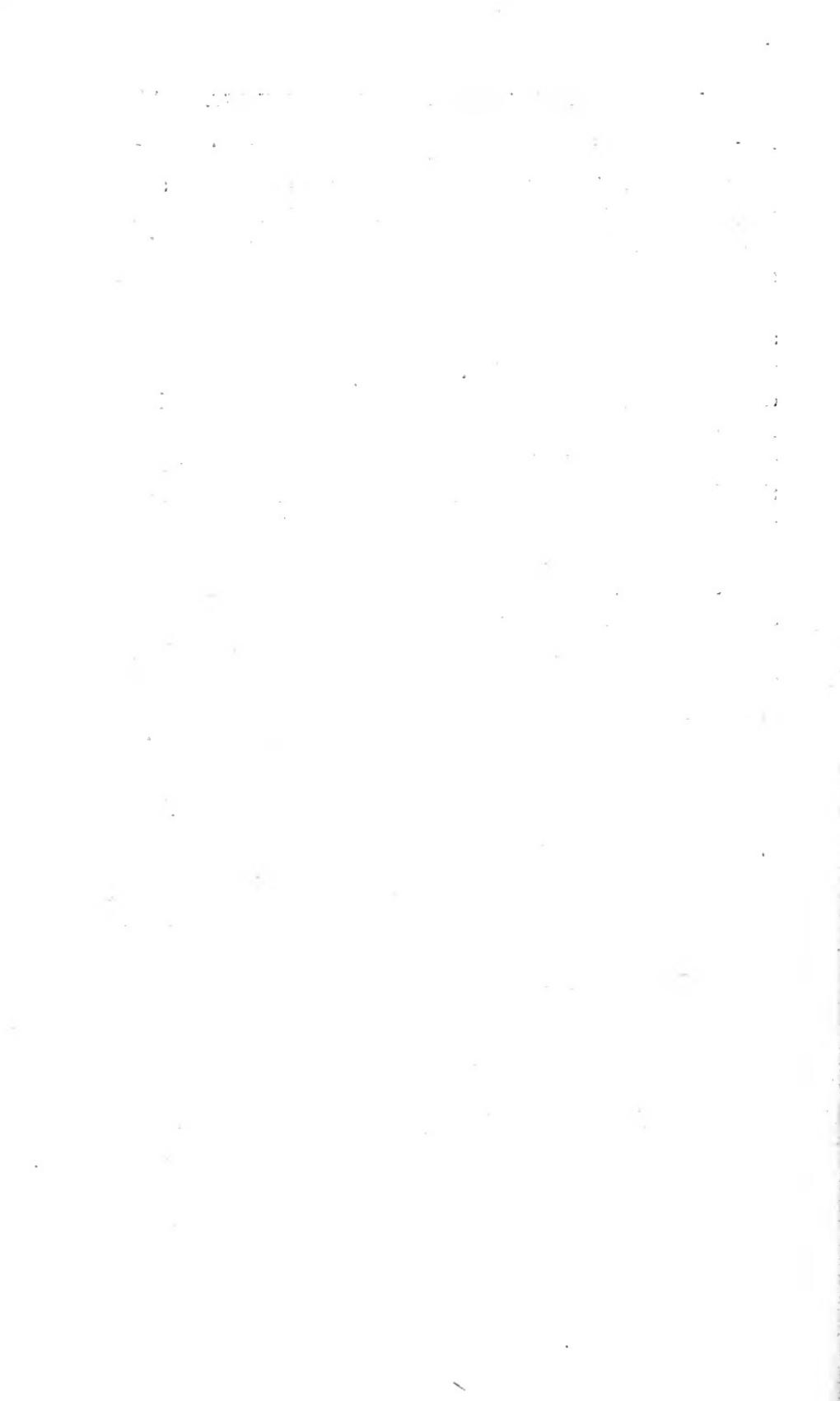
22. horses] h altered from b.

wundor.

22. MS. aelic þare ȝinge þe þ

32. mucele] MS. mueele.

rood, and named him by name Ciriacus, and the same day hallowed him archbishop. And the next morning he went to Jerusalem, and she gave him the two parts [to take] thence with him : the one part he was to take to Jerusalem, the other [he was to send] to Alexandria, and the third part the pope, Silvester, had with him thence to Rome, 5 the fourth part she had with her in Constantinople. Three days after the holy rood was found, Judas gave St. Helena the five nails with which our Lord was nailed. In the same night God's angel came to her when she was on her couch, and named her by her name and spoke thus : 'Helena, arise and take the nails, and order 10 the bit of Constantine's, thy son's bridle to be wrought thereof; and there is no one that will be able to withstand him afterwards, and many shall believe on God on account of the wonders that will be performed by the bridle. Then she asked him whether she should take the nails with her, or have them wrought there. Then 15 answered her the angel and spoke thus : 'Thou canst not take them from this place before they are wrought, but thou shalt order them to be wrought here, and afterwards take the bridle with thee.' And she then did as the angel bade her, and ordered the bit nails to be wrought, and she herself was present. And in the time in 20 which she sang the holy prayer, that is, the paternoster, thrice, the bit was wrought, and she took it to Constantine, her son. And when he was on riding expeditions, there issued from his horse's mouth a flame which could be seen for over a mile; and all those who beheld the marvel were sorely afraid, and in consequence of it 25 received Christianity. And he was thus travelling about for three years. Wherever he took it [the bridle] with him, people were willing to receive Christianity. When the three years were fulfilled, God's angel came to him and said : 'Constantine, it is now the time when, with God's blessing, thou shalt hasten back to the holy city, 30 Constantinople, because thou hast entirely fulfilled God's will and His command.' Then he straightway did as the angel bade him ; as soon as he came thither, he ordered the bridle to be taken, and the holy pieces of iron to be removed and to be hung up with great honour, together with the holy rood, where they have been pre- 35 served until this present day. Amen. Amen.



N O T E S.

2⁶. *quinquaginta finicas*. A comparison of the various members of the *Rood-tree* group shows that, in the original from which they are all ultimately derived, both Elim, with its twelve springs of fresh water and its seventy palm trees, and Rephidim, with the bitter water, which was made sweet by the rods, were mentioned¹. In the original of R the seventy palm trees had been reduced to fifty, and the Latin *palmae*, to which the other versions point, had been replaced by the Greek *φοίνικες*, of course, in a Latinized form; the result being the *quinquaginta finicas* of the text. This being unintelligible to the author of R was regarded by him as a place name, which he took over unaltered in form and applied to the place where the rods first appeared. But this was not the only confusion: out of Elim, with its twelve springs of fresh water, and Rephidim, with the bitter water, he made Elem—*Delemia* I take to have arisen from *de Elem*—with thirty springs of bitter water.

4³³. *Robathi*. If we spell this word backwards, disregarding the final *i*, and treating *th* as one letter, we get *thabor*, which is, no doubt, the place meant. According to the *Legend* Moses planted the rods at the foot of Mount Thabor (some MSS. have Oreb), where they were afterwards found by David.

6¹⁶. *þur* for *þurh*.

6¹⁹. *bilyfæd*, cf. 34¹³ *bilyfan*. These are somewhat earlier instances of the verb *to believe* (with the prefix *be-*) than any recorded in the NED. O.E. *geliefan*.

6²⁰. *Ða ðæs binnon æhta dajan*, ‘Eight days afterwards.’ *Binnon* is similarly used 22⁵, 28⁸, 28³⁴, 30²³, 32⁷, 32³², 34⁶.

8¹¹. *sum þare ðingæ*, literally ‘some one of those things.’ Cf. l. 8, *nán þare ðingæ*.

8⁶. *tweonan*. I have here retained the reading of the MS., although the scribe probably meant to write *betweonan*. Cf. 6¹⁷, 6⁹, 6³¹, 16³¹.

8³³. Ought we not to supply *me* before *iðuhi*? Cf. 32¹⁵ *ðæs ðe hire iðuhi wæs þ hit*, etc. We must either translate: ‘As it seemed to me my power of speech,’ etc., or, ‘thus it seemed to me that my,’ etc.

10⁵. *cneowð bedū* is obviously miswritten for *cneowbedū*. Cf. 10¹⁵.

¹ Both places are mentioned in Ca H, A, Db, and F. They were the scenes of the second and third appearance of the rods.

Marah (*Exod. xv. 23*) has been confused with Rephidim.

10²¹. *ðær ðu inne wære*. Ought we not to read *ðær ic inne wæs*?

10²². *alsiȝan* stands probably for *halsiȝan*. For instances of the loss of *h*, cf. grammatical notes. It might possibly be miswritten for *ahsiȝan*.

12¹⁰. *on egyptæ lande*. Does this refer to the sending of Moses from Midian to Egypt? Or ought we to read *of egyptæ lande*? The latter seems more probable; it suits the context better, moreover in the former case one would expect to have *land* (accusative).

12²¹. This line is corrupt. We ought perhaps to supply *ðe* after *ðingum*, cf. note to 30¹⁹. After *ærest iseȝe* some words have probably been lost.

12²¹. *him ... bæd*. Cf. 12⁹, 20¹⁶, 20²⁹ (*hine ... bæd*).

14¹⁴. *boden* may be either sing. or plural.

14²⁵. *deȝen*, ‘to die.’ This is an earlier instance of the occurrence of the verb *to die* than has hitherto been recorded. It is met with in *Ormulum*, *Laȝamon*, *Ancren Riwle*, St. Katherine, etc. Owing to the fact that *deȝen* is not found in OE., other words, such as *sweltan*, *steorfan*, etc., being used, it has been assumed that it is of Scandinavian origin. But seeing that the word was in common use in the South West of England from the middle of the twelfth century onwards, and that it is found in the other West Germanic dialects: in Old Frisian, Old Saxon, and Old High German; and seeing, moreover, that *Orm.*’s *deȝenn* cannot be derived from the Old Norse (Danish) *døyja*, which would have given *deȝenn* (cf. Brate¹, Paul und Braune’s Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 10. 38), it is surely not unreasonable to suppose the word to be a genuine English one. The form in which it occurs presents no difficulty: **daujan* would appear in West Saxon as *diegan*, in Mercian as *dégan* (cf. W. Sax. *ciegan*, Merc. *cégan*, from **kaujan*), and, as in the Rood-tree both *e* and *y* occur as representatives of W.S. *ie*, *ȝ*, Merc. *é* (umlaut of *ea*), the vowel is here quite regular.

14³¹. *þu him mid hælpen miht*, cf. note to 24⁷.

16²⁴. David’s arm, in which he was holding the rods, was miraculously extended towards the Ethiopians, and he himself had no power to draw it back.

18⁴. *husæ* may be either singular or plural. I take it here as plural on account of *husen*, 16³³.

18²⁹. *anride*, ‘that on which one rides, horseback, a mount.’ I only know of one other instance of *aurid*, *ourid* (which is formed like *anbid* from *onbulan*): cf. Stevenson & Napier, Oxford Charters, p. 23 *aelcon hiredmen his onrid þe he alæned hæfle*.

20¹¹. literally: ‘was (or became) on so great fire.’

20¹³. *alle* must be connected with the foregoing *heom*. ‘All the leprosy’ would be *al þe r.*

22³. *stude*. Cf. 24³¹ *styde*, besides *steðe* 22⁴. On the OE. *styde* cf. Sievers, P. B. B. 10. 197; 16. 233. The form *stude* is common in the South-Western dialect in early Middle English.

¹ In spite of this Brate believes *Orm’s deȝenn* to be of Scandinavian origin. To get over the difficulty he assumes that it belongs to a later stratum of borrowed words (*türfte*

einer späteren Schicht der Lehnwörter angehören), after the Old Danish *þy* had been monophthonged to *ö*.

22⁷. *græte*, cf. *grete* 22¹², ‘greatness, thickness.’ Old West Saxon *grieto*, Late W. S. *grſto*. The dictionaries record but one instance of this word from the Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem (Anglia 4. p. 146, and Cockayne, Narratiunculae Anglice conscriptae, p. 8) *þæt treowcyn ungemetlicre gryto and micelnyssse*.

22⁸. *fingermel*. ‘fingermeasure, fingerlength.’

22⁹. *hop*, ‘a hoop’; again 22¹⁴ and 24⁶. These are earlier instances of the word *hoop* than have hitherto been recorded. An OE. *hōp* has not yet been met with.

24¹. *ðæt ylce sealfer þe unsaliz iudas ure drihten to deaþe fore bileawede*. Cf. 26¹⁵ *ðu eadiȝ treow þ alleſ middaneardes hælend Ȭn hangian sceal*, 30¹¹ *þ hus þe halȝæ lichame inne biburized wæs*. Cf. also 14³⁰ *þu hafst mid þe sylfum þ ðu him mid hælpen miht*. The relative pronoun *þæt*, which was originally only used for the nom. and acc. singular of the neuter, does duty, in the above instances, as a dative, being governed by the following preposition. The historically correct *þe* occurs 24² and 20⁶. In the following century *þat* was employed as a relative in all cases of all genders both in the singular and plural, but in the Rood-tree we see its use still restricted to the neuter singular. In the masc. and fem. sing. as well as in the plural of all genders *þe* is still invariably used; cf. 10²³, 14³¹, 20⁷, 30¹², 30²², 32²¹, 32²⁷, 34⁸, etc.

24¹³. It would perhaps be better to alter *soðes* into *soð*, and to read: *hwæt his soð wære*.

26¹⁹. Literally: ‘what she meant by the word that she should name Christ.’ Cf. 30⁶.

26²¹. Literally: ‘but as it had come into her mouth.’

26²². *cacerē* must, no doubt, be expanded *cacerem*. The author of the English version has evidently taken the word over unaltered from his Latin original.

26²²—28¹. This sentence is awkwardly expressed; what she intends to say is: ‘I know of a truth that, as soon as I had spoken that word, my body was healed from the pain of the burning which I was suffering for my sins.’

28³. Literally, ‘ye cannot any the more [the sooner] by doing so [i. e. by torturing my body] reach my soul.’

28¹⁵. *mæjð* I take to be miswritten for *mæð*, ‘one’s due proportion, one’s deserts, what one deserves.’

28²². *to sæles* I take to mean, ‘immediately, at once.’ Cf. Aelfric’s Lives of Saints, ed. Skeat, i. p. 494¹⁵, *ac gehwā to sæles móste clipian*. Skeat translates, ‘in due time,’ but the context requires, ‘forthwith, there and then.’ Instances of similar formations are given by Sievers, Ags. Gramm. § 320. Cf. also *to gifes* ‘gratis,’ Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, 9. 478.

30¹⁹. *for þam ðingum* [*þe*]. I have here supplied *þe*; cf. 22²⁹ and 34²⁸; also 12²¹.

32². *toslaefdon*. The verb *toslæfan*, ‘to cut in pieces,’ is not recorded in the dictionaries. It is the causative of the strong verb (*to*)*slifan*.

32¹⁵. *ðæs ðe hire iðuht wæs þ*, etc. Cf. note to 8³³.

32¹⁸. The author has forgotten that the tree originally measured only thirty

ells, and that one-third, i. e. ten ells, had already been cut off. A quarter of the remainder would only measure five ells.

32²²⁻²⁴. A more correct translation would be : ‘As soon as she came within the city Constantinople, as they were carrying towards her a dead man, she bade the people,’ etc. The *ða* in line 23 is relative, the *þa* in l. 24 demonstrative.

32²⁶. *ahón[gen]*. The MS. has *ahón-*, which stands at the end of a line. If it were not for the short stroke in the MS. after *ahón*, which indicates that only part of the word has been written, the reading *ahón* might have been allowed to stand unaltered. The form *ahón* occurs as past participle in early Southern Middle English : cf. Bülbring, Ablaut der starken Zeitwörter im Südenglischen, p. 106.

34¹¹. *myld* (cf. *mild* 34²⁰ and *mildnæglas* 34¹⁸) = O.E. *míll*.

34¹². *Nis æniȝ þ him syððan wiðstanðen mage*. Cf. 26¹¹ *Næs nan mon swa durstij þ his ætrinæn durste*. In these two instances the *þ* is rather a conjunction than a relative pronoun. In the latter case we can supply *he* after *þ*, and in the first instance the construction seems similar : ‘*There is no one [so powerful] that [he] can*,’ etc.

34¹³. *þurð*. Cf. note to line 19 of the *Compassio Mariae*.

34²⁰. *bed*, O. E. *gebed*.

APPENDIX

TO

THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY ROOD-TREE.

I.

THE CAMBRIDGE AND HARLEIAN LATIN VERSIONS, AND THE OLD FRENCH PROSE VERSION OF ANDRIUS.

THE CAMBRIDGE LATIN VERSION AND ANDRIUS.

Incipit sermo quomodo primitus sancta arbor creuit in qua
salus mundi pependit.

§ 1. Sancta et diuina eloquia, fratres, iugiter immo et cotidie
nobis salubriter recitantur, ut anime nostre paschantur et in futuro
seculo eternis epulis saginentur, dicente propheta: ‘satiabor,
dum manifestabitur gloria tua.’ Det nobis dominus per spiritum

§ 1. Chascun iour deuriemes nos reciter les deuines escriptures, 5
car nos armes en seroient pauees et saoulees, ce dist li prophetes,
‘Biaus sires, ie serai mout saoules, car ta gloire sera bien faite
aperte.’ Mais nous ne nos deuriemes glorefier fors si come dist

This Latin version (=Ca) is printed from the twelfth century MS. Mm. 5. 29, in the Cambridge Univ. Library, fol. 157^b. It is divided into paragraphs for convenience of comparison with the version in MS. Harley 3185 (=H). In the case of those paragraphs in which H agrees with Ca, the variants from the former are added here. An account of those portions of H which differ, will be

found on p. 54. Contractions are expanded. Square brackets denote that the letters enclosed are wanting in the MS.

The Old French version of Andrius (=A) is printed from MS. 95 (Bibl. Nat. Paris), fol. 386^c.

1. § 1. also in H.
3. seculo wanting Ca.
satientur H.
3-4. Ps. xvi. 15.

sanctum hac uirtute in ipso corroborari, ut, cum apostolo, nobis absit gloriari, nisi in cruce domini nostri Ihesu Christi. In qua enim si gloriemur, profecto scientia ueteris ueritatis a deo replebimur, ut sciamus unde arbor sancta oriri cuperit, et quomodo 5 crescere inchoauerit uel qualiter ad operationem salutifere crucis peruererit, in qua salus mundi pependit.

§ 2. Post egressionem autem filiorum Israel ex Egipto, cum eos dominus per manus Moysi a seruitute Pharaonis eduxisset, rubrumque mare siccis uestibus transire fecisset, primo egressi sunt in 10 desertum Sur; ambulauerunt tribus diebus per solitudinem, et non inuenierunt aquam. Fixis tamen tentoriis in planicie campi, tota nocte manserunt ibi. Facto igitur diluculo, Moyses surrexit a sompno, et ecce uidit ad caput suum unam repente exortam uirgulam, et in dextera lateris parte aliam, atque in sinistra 15 terciam; et demonstrabatur genus singularium tenerorum ostensione

li apostoles : ‘Iou ne me doi glorefier fors en la crois Dame dieu Ihesu Crist. Mais or nous conuient sauoir qui fu ichius sains arbres ne dont il nasqui premierement, dont la crois fu en quoi li salus dou monde fu pendus, ne coment la crois en fu puis faite.

20 § 2. Et dist l'estoire que quant li fil de Israel furent isut de Egypte, que Dame dius les auoit deliures des mains de Pharaon par Moysem, qu'il orent fet passer la mer rouge tout a sec, si uindrent premierement au desert de Sur, et errerent .iii. iours et .iii. nuis, que onques point d'aigue ne parent trouuer, et ten- 25 dirent lor tente a plain cham et furent illueques toute nuit. Et quaut uint au matin que Moyses s'esuilla, si uit deuant lui une mout bele grande uerge qui fu mise a son ceues, et une deuers sa destre, et une deuers sa senestre; et demonstre de quel

1. sanctum] suum *Ca.*

2. *Galat.* vi. 14.

7. § 2 also in *H.*

autem *wanting H.*

cum] uidelicet .lx. millia preter mulieres et parulos cum *H.*

8. manum *H.*

9. uestibus] uestigiis *H.*

Exod. xv. 22.

ingressi *H.*

10. Sur] Syn *H.*

admuere *Ca.*

11. non *wanting Ca.*

tamen] autem *H.*

14. sinistra parte *H.*

15. singulorum *H.* tenerum *Ca.*

28. demonstre ire *MS.*

foliorum. Nam prima uirgula erat cypressina, atque alia cedrina, et pini speciem habebat tercia. Obstupescens igitur Moyses repentina uirgularum uisione, nullatenus ausus est illas contingere, nec in illo loco diutius quiescere, sed conscite profectus inde, uenit in Helim cum omni plebis multitudine; ibique reperientes septuaginta palmas et .xii. aquarum fontes, castrametati sunt iuxta aquas. Facto autem mane, dum euigilasset Moyses, ecce iterum reperit circa se in terram fixas tres quas prius uiderat uirgulas, et non ausus est amouere illas, sed ualde admirans prophetauit dicens, ‘Uere istarum ostensio uirgularum sanctam significat trinitatem. 10 Cypressus itaque patris habet significationem, cedrus uero significat unigenitum dei filium, pinus etiam portendit paraclytum spiritum sanctum.’ Et hoc dicens, profectus est inde, et uenit in Raphidim

maniere les uerges estoient. Et dist que la premiere estoit de cypries, et la seconde de cedre, et la tierce si estoit de pin. Et 15 quant Moyses uit iceste meruelle, si s'esmeruella mout et fu mout esbahis, ne onques de ces uerges n'en osa nule toucier, ne n'osa ainques puis d'illueques remanoir, ains s'en ala au plus tost qu'il pot; si s'en ala en une tere que on apiele Elym ot trestout son pueple que il menoit. Et trouua illueques .lxx. paumiers et .xii. 20 fontaines d'aigue; illueques se herbergierent iuste les aiges. Quant uint au matin que Moyses s'esuilla, si trouua enuiron soi de rechief ices .iii. uerges que il auoit ueues deuant, et estoient fichies en la tere. Cil ne uaut onques souffrir qu'elles fuissent remuees; lors s'esmeruella mout dans Moyses et prophetiza et 25 dist, ‘La senefiance de ces .iii. uerges si senefierent la trinite, car li cypres senefie le pere, li cedres si a la senefiance dou fil, et li pins si a la senefiance dou saint esperit.’ Et si tost come

1-2. Nam . . . tercia *wanting H.*

2. *Obstupescens H.*

5. *Exod. xv. 27.*

repperiente *Ca.*

6. *palmites H.*

8. se in terram *wanting H.*
illas tres *H.* uidit *H.*

9. est ausus mouere *H.* a. e.
admouere *Ca.*

11-13. *Cypressus . . . sanctum wanting H.*

13. profertur *H.*

15. estoit] auoit *MS.*

19. ot] et *MS.* 20. pauoniers *MS.*

cum omni plebe, ibique reperte sunt aque tam amare, ut populus ex eis nullatenus posset bibere. Moyses igitur cum populo magnam sustinens tribulationem propter aquarum amaritudinem dormiuit post solis occubitum. Et exorto die euigilans item illas tres quas supra retulimus, iam tertio penes se uidit astare uirgulas. Unde admodum admirans, et quid ageret, prorsus ignorans, clamauit ad dominum pro amaritudine aquarum; qui etiam exaudiuit eum, talem sibi inspirando cogitatum, ut erueret uirgulas et poneret eas in aquarum fonticulis. Moxque amaritudo aquarum in maximam uersa est dulcedinem; et letatus est populus dulces bibendo aquas.

§ 3. De istis etenim uirgulis dicitur hoc, quod in Exodo legitur: Moses igitur clamauit ad dominum pro amaritudine aquarum, qui etiam ostendit ei lignum. Quod cum misisset in aquam, uersa est in dulcedinem. In Grecorum etenim commentariis lignum pro ipsis ponitur uirgulis. Mense igitur tertio egressionis filiorum Israel de terra Egypti profecti sunt de Raphidim, et uenerunt in solidudinem Sinay; tulitque secum Moyses iuxta uerbum domini uirgulas supradictas, uirtute sacri mysterii plenas. Profecti autem

Moyses ot ce dit, si s'en ala mout tost d'illueques et uint en la tere de Taphindun auoec trestout le pueple qu'il menoit auoeques lui, et trouuerent en celle terre unes aigues si ameres que li peuples ne les pooit boiure. Moyses fu mout en grant tribulation, et li pueples qui estoit o lui, pour l'amertume des aigues. Et quant li solaus fu coucies, si alerent dormir. Et quant uint au matin que Moyses s'esuilla, si uit de rechief iouste lui ces .iii. uerges dont nos auons desus dit. Lors s'esmeruella mout Moyses et ne sot que dire. [Although there is no break whatever in the MS. several paragraphs are wanting here. The MS. goes on Salemons li fieus Dauid si fist, etc. Cf. p. 49 (§ 10)].

2. ex] ab H.

4. illas wanting H.

5. astantes II. una modū Ca.

6. agere H.

12. § 3. is different in H.

12. Exod. xv. 25.

16. Exod. xix. 1-2.

21. Taphindun, so MS. for Ra-

phindun.

filii Israel de Raphidim castrametati sunt in regione montis Synai ; ibique dominus manna cibauit eos .xl. annis. Moyses igitur, repositis in aqua uirgulis, ascendit montis summitatem, fuitque ibi .xl. diebus et .xl. noctibus nichil manducans neque bibens; unde et hoc sacro quadragenario ieunio legem domini meruit ab ipso 5 accipere domino. Cumque de monte Sinai descendisset Moyses portans duas tabulas lapideas digito dei scriptas, ita ex uisione dei resplenduit facies eius, ut filii Israel non possent respicere eius uultus claritatem. . . . *Here follows a short account of the doings of the Israelites in the desert, consisting of quotations from Exodus, 10 Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Psalms. No allusion whatever is made to the rods. After the death of Aaron the Israelites came to the land of Moab, and Moses, at God's command, ascended mount Nebo, ibique mortuus est iuxta preceptum domini, et ipse dominus propriis manibus sepeluit eum, et propterea eius sepulchrum 15 omnibus hominibus manet incognitum usque in presentem diem.*

§ 4. Ille siquidem Moyses, dum regionem Moab intravit, mox in terra posuit, sicut ei dominus mandauit, illas supradictas tres sanctas uirgulas quas in diuersis repperit locis circa se ortas per tres continuas noctes, sicut supra diximus; et in eodem loco, 20 nemine sciente, ualde multis steterunt annis, idem usque ad tempora sancti Dauid regis, nichil crescentes neque tenera folia per dentes, sed per omnia ita erant in terra consistentes, sicut idem Moyses sanctus posuit eas. Postquam igitur imperium sumpsit Dauid, rex gloriosus, in nocturna uisione apparuit ei angelus domini 25 ita dicens : 'O Dauid, dei dilekte, iam nunc expergiscere et, exorta luce, ultra Iordanem proficiscere. Ibi enim dominus tibi est ostensurus illas tres uirgulas sanctas quas olim Moyses in illis posuit locis. Habent sane significationem sancte trinitatis et per eas totus illuminandus est mundus. Hec autem dixit domini 30 angelus, et postea reuolauit ad celos. Facto igitur mane surrexit Dauid sanctus et magno cum comitatu iter arripiens, tercia die transiuit flumen Iordanis. Et ultra progrediens in campestribus

3. Exod. xxiv. 18; xxxiv. 28-29.
14. Deut. xxxiv. 5-6.

17. § 4. is different in H.
21. idem] so MS.

castrametatus est in planitiis cum magna multitudine plebis. Cumque mane surrexisset a sompnis, ecce circa se uidit tres exortas uirgulas, unam uidelicet ad caput suum, et in dextera lateris parte aliam, atque in sinistra terciam. Moxque in terra se 5 prosternens magno cum gemitu orabat dicens: ‘Domine deus creator omnium, ostende mihi per ineffabilem clementiam tuam, si iste sint ille sancte uirgule de quibus ab angelo sancto in nocturnali audiui requie.’ Hoc igitur dum orauit, de supernis audire meruit: ‘Iste sunt ille sancte uirgule, et ideo eas summo cum 10 gaudio tolle et tecum illas porta cum maximo honore, quia sacris mysteriis sunt plene, et per eas redimendus est orbis terræ.’ Tunc Dauid, omni dubitatione et timore sublato, extraxit sanctas uirgulas de loco illo et secum portauit magno cum gaudio, multique infirmi receperunt sanitatem per sanctam illarum uirtutem, ante- 15 quam uenirent ad ciuitatem sanctam Ierusalem.

§ 5. Nam quidam uir prepotens, nomine Ioxilus, ita erat omnibus membris infirmatus, ut in eo uix remaneret alitus. Cumque Dauid eius audisset infirmitatem, properanter cum sanctis uirgulis uenit ad eum. Moxque infirmus recepit sanitatem per illarum presentiam 20 uirgularum, et sanissimus exurgens, benedicebat auctorem sue salutis.

§ 6. Post hęc igitur sanctus Dauid profectus est uiam suam gaudens, et ecce antequam transiret flumen Iordanis obuiam ei ueniebant quatuor Ethiopes; moxque ut sanctas uiderunt uirgulas, 25 exclamauerunt dicentes: ‘Magna enim sunt et admiranda in his sacris uirgulis mysteria, necnon et omnis terra per eas est illuminanda.’ Et accedentes proprius, prostrati adorabant eas. Moxque abscessit de illorum corporibus omnis nigredo et deformitas; et facti sunt ualde albi et spetiosi, qui paulo ante fuerunt nigri et 30 horridi. Cumque hoc uidisset populus, ualde fuit letificatus, quia in conspectu eorum tam stupendum factum est miraculum per sanctarum uirgularum uirtutem.

11. redempturus *MS.*

24. iiiii or ueniebant *H.*

16. § 5. is wanting in *H.*

24. uirgas *H.*

22. § 6. is also in *H.*

25. et wanting *Ca.*

22-23. Post . . . gaudens, et] Set

29. ualde nigri *H.*

H.

30. uidisset] audisset *H.*

§ 7. Cum ergo Dauid transisset flumen Iordanis, ecce aspexit eum quidam leprosus, qui erat in illo monte habitans centum et sexaginta annis. Moxque prophetauit dicens: ‘Hodie igitur ad me ueniet, qui me de hac infirmitate saluabit.’ Ita enim leprosus dixit, et statim equus substitit, in quo sanctus Dauid sedebat, 5 et extensa est manus sua, cum qua uirgas tenuit. Et ardens flamma de illis uirgulis ascendit, et uersa est ad speluncam in qua supradictus leprosus erat. Moxque illuc perrexit populus, cunctisque illis uidentibus, flamma illa consumpsit lepram illius hominis, et protinus surrexit sanissimus atque comes factus est 10 regis Dauid.

§ 8. Dauid autem inde rex progrediens uenit in Ierusalem in uesperis; moxque tres sanctas uirgulas in illo fonte posuit qui iuxta suum ortulum fuit. Facto itaque mane uoluit illas extrahere et in hortulo suo ponere; sed ita erant in illa nocte radicate, ut 15 nullus posset eas euellere. Et iccirco iussit rex suum dilatare et ampliare hortulum, fortem ponendo sepem circa illum fontem. Erant sancte uirgule ibi iugiter stantes et ita crescentes, ut in triginta annorum curriculis efficerentur arbor grandis. Erant etiam primo anno simul conglutinate et unite, sed tamen semper in 20 summitate fuerunt penitus disiuncte, quapropter et ipse Dauid iussit unum argenteum facere circulum et cum eo circumcingere illius arboris summitatem, ut sic constricta in unum esset conglutinata. Sic ergo cypressus radicata cum cedro et pino, cedrus etiam et pinus cum cypresso, argenteo adunata cum circulo, arbor 25 una sunt effecte; licet semper in summitate in tres fuissent partes diuisse ob significacionem sancte trinitatis, uel ad demonstrationem

1. § 7. is also in *H.*

Cum igitur D. transiuit *H.*

4. uenit *H.*

5. subsubstitit *Ca.* sedit *H.*

6. est manus] manu *H.*

7. flamma illa *Ca.*

8. erat leprosus *H.*

omnis populus *H.*

9. illam combustit *H.*

12. § 8. is also in *H.*

rex wanting *H.*

14. Facto que *H.*

15. reponere *H.*

15. the second in] ea *H.*

radificate *H.*

16. posset wanting *Ca.*

17. sepem] spem on an erasure *Ca.*

18. Erantque *H.*

19. efficiuntur *H.*

20. unite] iuncte *H.*

23. essent congregat⁹ *H.*

24. Sicut *Ca.*

cum c. et p.] cum et pino cedro
on an erasure *Ca.*

25. arg. adiuuante circ. *H.*

27. uel] ut *H.*

cuius essent generis. Cum ergo unus transisset annus, eundem circulum dilatauit rex gloriosus, ut arbor inde grossior esset; aliumque circulum superius innexuit, ut excelsior fieret. Sic ergo rex gloriosus per triginta faciens annos, et argenteos dilatauit,
 5 ut arbor dilataretur, eosque adauxit, ut illa extenderetur. Concreuerunt ergo in latum et in longum simul in una radice et in una arboris commixtione: cypressus, cedrus, et pinus, facte sunt arbor mire magnitudinis, frondifera, fructifera, salutifera, omnibus lignisque Libani excelsior, fronde, flore, et germine nobilior. Dauid
 10 autem rex .xl. annis super Israel regnauit et .x. regiminis sui anno istud salutare lignum in Ierusalem plantauit, et .xxx. residuis annis creuit, et rex frequenter illuc perrexit, ibique diu extensis manibus in oratione perstitit.

§ 9. At ubi arbor sancta ceperat fructificare, mox et Dauid cepit
 15 impensas congregare, ut ualeret domum dei edificare. Cumque omnes impensas haberet congregatas, apparuit ei dominus dicens:
 ‘Tu mihi quidem domum non edificabis, sed Salomon, filius tuus,
 quia tu uir bellator es et sanguinem fundens.’

§ 10. Dauid autem, ut hoc audiuist, continuo omnes principes
 20 Israel conuocauit, tribunos etiam et centuriones, et omnes filios suos, dixitque ad eos, ‘Audite me, fratres mei et populus. Ecce cogitauit, ut edificarem domum, in qua requiesceret archa federis domini. Cunctisque ad edificandum preparatis, dixit mihi dominus,
 ‘Tu quidem mihi domum non edificabis, eo quod uir bellator sis et
 25 sanguinem fuderis; sed Salomon, filius tuus, edificabit domum meam, quia ipsum elegi mihi in filium, et ego ero ei in patrem et firmabo regnum eius in eternum.’ Dixitque ad Salomonem, filium suum,

2. arbor *wanting Ca.*

3. sup. inn.] inferius nexuit *H.*

5. arbor *wanting Ca.*
adduxit *H.*

6. longum et in latum *H.*

7. sunt *wanting Ca.*

9. lignisque *wanting H.*

11. salutifere *H.*

14. § 9. *is also in H.*

At ubi] Cum *H.*

15-16. ut . . . congregatas] Adu-
nauit uero omnia que sunt tante

domui necessaria infra .xiii. annos, videlicet gemmas, aurum compositum, argentum purgatum, structuras lapidum, ligna, et quecumque essent necessaria. Cumque incipere uellet opus suum *H.*

17. i Chron. xxviii. 3.
quidem mihi *H.*

18. quia . . . fundens *wanting H.*

19. § 10. *is different in H.*

i Chron. xxviii. 1-3.

25. i Chron. xxviii. 6-7.

‘Elegit enim te dominus, ut edificares domum suam; quapropter confortare et perfice illam.’ Post hec igitur dedit Dauid filio suo Salomoni descriptionem porticus et templi et cellariorum, etc. etc. . Then follows an account (consisting of quotations from the Bible) of the materials collected, and of the building of the temple. Then it goes on: Perfecta est igitur domus domini septem annis in omnibus utensilibus suis, et .xi. trabes posite sunt in domo domini per circuitum forinsecus, ut non hererent templi muris. Experti sunt operarii unam defuisse trabem, moxque totam illam circumibant regionem, inquirentes aliam, sed minime tantam inuenientes arbo- 10 rem, reuersi sunt uacui ad regem. Cumque rex super hoc maximam haberet tristiciam, suaserunt eum magistri operum, ut salutiferam succideret arborem in ortulo Dauid, patris sui, stantem, eo quod non haberet aliam. Tunc iussit rex arborem illam succidere, et ad necessitatem operis facere, atque .xxx. argenteos precepit de illa 15 sancta arbore tollere et in templo domini suspendere, patri suo ad memoriam et ad honorem sibique. Appropinquante igitur passione Christi, Iudei tulerunt illos ipsos .xxx. argenteos circulos

Salemons li sieus Dauid si fist le temple Dame dieu et demora .vii. ans a faire. Et tant que li ouvrier s'aperchurent que uns 20 tres lor faloit, lors alerent li maistre de l'oeure par toute la tere por querre et cerkier fust dont il peuissent trouuer de quoi il fessissent .i. tref; mais onques ne parent trouuer nul arbre qui lor euist mestier. Tout ensi s'en retornerent au roi Salemon et li disent, et li rois en fu mout courechies et mout marris. Lors 25 se conseillierent li maistre de l'oeure qu'il feissent trenchier icel saint fust qui estoit ou uergier son pere, car il n'en trouuoient nul autre. Lors comanda li rois Salemons que chius arbres fust copes pour la besoingne de l'oeure, et comanda que les .xxx. cercles d'argent fuissent ostees et fuissent au temple Dame diu presentees 30 en honor de son pere et de lui. Et quant [uint] a la passion Ihesu Crist si prisent li Iuis ces .xxx. pieces d'argent dou temple

1. i Chron. xxviii. 10-11.

6. i Kings vi. 38.

7. p. s.] ponerentur MS.

7. i Kings vi. 6. 10. tanta MS.

19. Andrius, continued from p. 44-

22. puissent MS.

de domo domini, et dederunt infelici Iude pro eiusdem Christi traditione.

§ 11. Illa enim sancta arbor antequam succideretur, cunctis trabibus longior uno cubito uidebatur, et duobus cubitis postquam 5 succidebatur. Formata igitur trabes ad templum portabatur, et dum sursum trahebatur, duobus cubitis *breuior* uidebatur, et ideo statim deponebatur, et deposita, dum iterum mensurabatur, duobus cubitis longior uidebatur. Post hec ergo frequenter extrahitur et iterum deponitur, et dum sursum erat, duobus cubitis breuior 10 uidebatur. Sic et sic arbor sancta creuit et decreuit, quia ad illud opus nichil pertinuit, sed ante mundi constitutionem predestinata est ad Christi crucem. His ita gestis iussit rex Salomon quantotius ire et aliam arborem requirere, et inuenta est alia ipsa die, et preparatur sine ulla dilatione et ponitur in murorum sumitate, 15 sicutque ualde conueniens cunctis aliis trabibus.

Damedieu et les donnerent a Iudas le malauenrous por ce que il lor uendist Ihesum.

§ 11. Auant que chis sains arbres fust trenchies, si lor fu auis qu'il fust plus lons des autres une codee. Et quant li arbres fu 20 trencies, si lor fu auis qu'il estoit plus lons .ii. codees. Et quant li tres fu fais et il fu aportes a l'oeure dou temple, si le comencierent a leuer sus, si lor fu auis qu'il fu .ii. codees plus lons. Li arbres crut et descrut si que nus iors ne lor ot mestier, car il estoit destines a faire la sainte crois nostre Singnor Ihesu Crist. Quant 25 il uirent que li arbres ne lor auroit mestier et que il ne lor uaudroit riens, si comanda li rois Salemons que on alast querre un autre arbre, et cil i alerent et le trouuerent cel iour meisme sans demeure, et estoit plus biaus et plus rices que nus des autres.

3. § 11. is also in *H.*

3. enim] autem *H.*

arbor sancta *H.*

4. uno cub. uid.] erat cubito uno *H.*

6-8. The words printed in *italics* (breuior . . . cubitis) only occur in *H*, they are omitted in *Ca*. The scribe of the latter MS. evidently sprang from the one duobus cubitis to the next. Note that the corresponding

words are also wanting in the French *Andrius*.

7. deponabatur *H.*

8. ergo] igitur *H.*

10. uidebatur wanting *Ca*.

11. opus wanting *Ca*.

nichil ad i. o. *H.* pertinuit *Ca*.

12. itaque *H.* iussit wanting *H*.

13. querere *H.* alia] ea *H.*

14. dilatione] dubitatione *Ca*.

§ 12. Postea ergo iacuit arbor sancta in templo domini usque ad passionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Salomon autem perfecit domum domini septem annis cum omnibus utensilibus suis, sicut antea diximus; eiusque dedicationem celebrauit .xii. diebus et postea dimisit populos, etc. etc. *Then follows a short account of Solomon's wealth, etc., consisting of quotations from the Bible.*

§ 13. Regnauit autem Salomon .xl. annis, et postea dormiuit cum patribus suis. Semperque postea in templo domini iacuit arbor sancta, de qua superius audiuit caritas vestra, donec ex ea formata est crux sancta, de qua floruit redemptio nostra. Multaque per illam arborem facta sunt miracula, de quibus nunc pandere libet aliqua. Erat autem quidam sacerdos nomine Ciritius, illam arborem habere desiderans; misitque .c. viros, ut illam tollerent et ad se deferrent. Cumque illi centum non possent illam mouere, cepit ipse sacerdos illuc uenire cum innumerabili plebis multitudine. Sed dum illi omnes non possent adhuc illam mouere, conati sunt illam in tres partes succidere; sed mox magnus exortus est ignis in circumitu sancte trabis, et exiliens ipsum combussit sacerdotem et cum eo sexaginta hominum ex eis qui uoluerunt illam sanctam succidere arborem; et reliqui fugiendo uix

§ 13. Et li sains arbres si fu au temple Dame du iusques au tans de la pasion Ihesu Crist. Li rois Salemons si regna .xl. ans et puis auindrent maintes miracles par le saint arbre qui ne font mie a celer. Car il auoit un prouoire el pais, qui ot a non Orifeus, qui mout ot conqueste d'auoir et mout le desiroit et renuoia la cent homes. Quant il furent uenu, si nel parent onques remuer. Lors i ala li prestres meismes a tout meruelleuse force de gent, mais onques ne le parent remuer. Et quant li prestres, qui estoit rices hom et de mout grant pooir, uit ce, si comanda que li fus fust trencies en .iii. parties. Ensi qu'il le uoloint trencier, si en issi uns feus dou fust mout grans et mout meruelleus et sailli et arst le prouoire et .xl. de ceaus qui auoec lui estoient uenu por le fust

1. § 12. is wanting in H and also,
with the exception of the first sentence,
in Andrius.

2. 1 Kings vi. 38.

7. § 13. is wanting in H.

7. § 13. 2 Chron. ix. 30-31.

12. ciritiuus MS.

23. font] fait MS.

27. prestres MS.

29. pooir] paour MS.

euaserunt mortem. Tale quidem signum per hoc factum est lignum, et ideo in templo domini iacebat intactum, donec gloriosum Christi patibulum ex illa erat formatum.

§ 14. Adhuc ergo libet amplius narrare de eadem sancta arbore.
 5 Erat igitur quedam femina, Sabilla, quę etiam dum templum domini esset ingressa, negligenter super illam sanctam trabem resedit. Moxque ignis de illa trabe ascendit et uestimenta eius retro combussit; illaque, ualde ardens, exclamauit dicens: ‘O, arbor sancta et gloriosa, quam felix es et benedicta, quia in te 10 crucifigendus est Christus, qui est omnium uita et salus.’ Nesciuit enim, quid dixit, sed ita prophetare debuit. Moxque ignis ab ea discessit et penitus euauit. Audientes igitur Iudei quia nominasset Christum, pene usque ad mortem flagellabant eam, et postea missa est in carcerem. Angelus autem domini adueniens consolata 15 batur eam dicens, ‘Confortare et pęnas imminentes noli timere,

trenchier; et li autre s'en fuirent et escaperent. Itel signe et itel miracle auinrent par icel saintisme arbre; puis fu li fus longement au temple Damiedieu que onques nule riens n'i osa touchier, iusques que on en fist la crois nostre Singnor Ihesu Crist.

20 § 14. Puis auint une autre miracle mout meruelleusse et mout grande par icel arbre. Car en la tere auoit une moult haute dame qui estoit nomee Sebile, et uint au temple Damedi. Et tout ensi come ele entra ens, si s'asist sour icel fust par negligence et nel fist mie a ensient; et autresi tost issi del fust .i. feus qui li 25 arst trestous les dras deriere li. Et quant ele senti qu'ele ardoit, si se leua et dist au saint arbre, ‘Mout es bons et glorieus, quant en toi sera crucefies Ihesu Cris, qui est uie de toutes coses.’ Ice dist Sebile et prophetiza d'icel fust, et si ne sauoit que chou ere; et autresi tost se departi li feus de li et s'esuanui. Et quant li 30 Iuis oirent que Sebile auoit nome Ihesu Crist, si le prisen et le batirent tant que por .i. poi qu'ele ne morut; et puis le misent en une chartre. Si uint uns angeles en cele chartre et la conforta et dist, ‘Bele dame, confortes toi et n'aies pas paour, car Damediis

4. § 14. is different in H.

11. ea] eo MS.

17. fust MS.

18. osa on MS. 27. Crist MS.

28. fust] fruit MS.

32. uint u.a.] uindrent li angele MS.

quia tibi parata est corona leticie, et iam non uocaberis Sabilla,
sed Susanna, quia a domino ualde es dilecta, et post modicum
tempus celiaca percipies gaudia.' Et hec dicens reuolauit ad celos,
et postea sancta Susanna gladio percussa migrauit ad dominum ;
ibique nostri memor sit in eternum.

5

§ 15. Post hec igitur, transactis multis annorum curriculis, dum instabat tempus Christi passionis, infelices Iudei nullam inuenere arborem in qua uellent suspendere ipsum mundi saluatorem. Quapropter Caiphas trecentos misit Iudeos, ut sanctam arborem de templo domini tollerent et ad se quanto citius deferrent. Illi 10 autem festinantes illuc uenerunt, sed nullatenus illam sanctam arborem mouere potuerunt. Tunc Cayphas precepit, ut iterum pergerent, ut ex ea decem ulnas absciderent, et de illa parte Christi crucem componerent. Fecit ergo populus, sicut precepit Cayphas, et festinanter crux Christi preparatur, et ab ipso domino 15 Iesu Christo de templo portatur, ipseque dominus Ihesus Christus (*At this point the MS. breaks off, the rest being lost. But, as a comparison with Andrius and Rood-Tree shows, the remainder was in all probability identical with §§ 16-18 of H. Cf. page 57.*)

t'a aparellie couronne en son regne, et tu n'i seras mais apielee 20 Sebile desoremais en auant, mais Susane, car Diex t'aime mout.
Et ne demorra gaires que li Iuis le martirierent.

§ 15. Apres ice lonc tans quant uint au tans de la passion Ihesu Crist, si ne parent li Iuis malauenrous trouuer nul arbre ou il uaussissent crucefier le Sauueour dou monde. Et lors i enuoia 25 Cayaphas, qui estoit prestres de la loy, .ccc. Iuis au temple Damiedieu que il preissent icel saint fust et qu'il li en aportaissent ; mes il ne le parent onques trouuer si legier qu'il le peussent remuer. Lors comanda Cayfas de rechief qu'il alaissent ariere et trenchaissent d'icel fust .x. codees et d'icele partie feissent une 30 crois. Lors fist li pueples si come Cayphas l'ot comande, et appareillierent hastiuement la crois et la fisent porter Ihesum meisme ; et en icerle crois fu crucefies si come li angeles dist. [For the continuation Ensi fu la crois faite, etc. see p. 57.]

6. § 15. is different in H.
22. martirieront MS.

30. The .x. is wanting in the
MS.

THE HARLEIAN LATIN VERSION.

Relacio cuiusdam quomodo arbor sancta primitus creuit in qua
salus mundi pependit.

§ 1. *Same as in Ca. Cf. p. 41.*

§ 1^b. (*MS. Harl. fol. 47^b-52^b*). *This paragraph, which is wanting in Ca, relates the sending by Adam of his son Seth to Paradise to fetch the promised oil of mercy. It begins: Legimus ex tradizione patrum quod, cum Adam prothoplaustus senuerit et factus fuerit nongintorum annorum et .xxx. misit Seth filium suum ad Paradisum, locum uidelicet amenitatis in oriente, etc., and its contents agree with §§ 3-12 of Meyer's Latin Legend, though the wording is quite different.*

10 § 2 (*MS. Harl. fol. 52^b-54*). *Same as in Ca.*

§ 3 (*MS. Harl. fol. 54-55*). *Cum enim extraxisset Moyses uirgulas a terra, tanta fragrancia repleuit populum, ut iam se crederet populus fore ingressum terram lacte et melle manantem Quo signo Moyses certificatus, nouit infra diuinum inesse miscerium, accipiens enim quandam mapulam mundissimam, etc., etc.*
The contents of this paragraph correspond to Meyer's Latin Legend, §§ 14-15, although the wording is entirely different.

§ 4 (*MS. Harl. fol. 55-56*). *Cui Moyses respondit, 'Miserere ergo, domine, quis introducit populum istum in terram promissionis?' Ad quem dominus, 'Uiuo ego,' dicit dominus, 'nullus eorum egredietur preter Caleph et Iosue.' Attendens ergo Moyses diuicius se non uicturum, assumit uirgas plenas sacramento et plantauit eas ad radicem montis Thabor. Steterunt autem, etc., etc.*
The contents of this paragraph correspond to Meyer's Latin Legend, §§ 16-18, although the wording is quite different.

Printed from MS. Harley 3185, fol. 47 (early 14th century). In the case of those paragraphs in which the Harley version (= H) agrees with the Cambridge version (= Ca), the

variants from the former are printed underneath the text of the latter, cf. p. 41.

12. *iam]* in *MS.*

13. *manentem* *MS.*

§ 5 is wanting in *H.*

§§ 6–8 (*MS. Harl. fol. 56–58 b*) are the same as in *Ca.*

§ 8 b (*MS. Harl. 58 b–59*). Cumque arbor dilataretur crescendo, rumpebantur circuli, qui corruentes in cisternam, extrahebantur et suspendebantur in templo. Asseuerant quidam, quod istos argenteos 5 petiuit Iudas pro prodicione quam fecit de Christo. Contigit autem Dauid regem fore lapsum in tria grauia crimina, videlicet: adulterium, prodicionem, homicidium, que commisit causa Bersabee, uxoris Urie et matris Salomonis. Uisitatus a domino per Natan prophetam, penituit sapienter ingemiscens; subtus sanctam arborem 10 totum composuit psalterium, exceptis tribus psalmis, scilicet: ‘Domine, quid multiplicati?’ quem fecit contra Absalonem. Et ‘Quid gloriaris,’ contra Iudeos. Et ‘Deus, laudem’ contra Iudam et contra omnes proditores. Rex autem Dauid adhuc uolens satis- facere pro peccatis suis, uoluit domum domino edificare, scilicet 15 templum.

§ 9 (*MS. Harl. f. 59*). Same as in *Ca.*

§ 10 (*MS. Harl. f. 59 b–60*). Certificatus inde Dauid quod Salomon filius suus regnaret post eum, et quod dies ipsius terminarentur, uocauit potentes regni et ciuitatis ita dicens: ‘Audite 20 Salomonem tanquam me; ipsum elegit dominus.’ Defunctus est autem Dauid in senectute bona, et appositus est patribus in orto regum. Regnauit inde Salomon, et incepit domum domini con- struere, quam perfecit in spacio .xxxii. annorum. Et si .xiiii. anni in quibus adunauit rex Dauid ea que necessaria erant ad templum 25 construendum, annumerentur cum .xxxii. annis, faciunt .xlvi. Hinc est quod dicitur in euangelio, ‘.xl. et .vi. annis edificatum est templum hoc, et tu in triduo rehedibicas illud?’ In consum- macione siquidem templi iam sepius nominati, cum artifices in toto Libano arborem congruam, unde trabes ultima prepararetur, non 30 inueniretur, necessitate astricti, uix fauente Salomone, incisa est arbor Dauid sanctissima, de qua constructa est trabes illa necessaria.

4. extrahebantur *MS.*

20. uocauitque *MS.*

5. assueuerant *MS.*

22. ortu *MS.*

12. *Psalm* iii. 2.

27. *John* ii. 20.

13. *Psalm* li. 3.

30. preparetur *MS.*

Psalm cviii. 2.

31. So *MS.*

§ 11 (*MS. Harl. f. 60–60 b*). *Same as in Ca. §§ 12 and 13 are wanting in H.*

§ 14 (*MS. Harl. f. 60 b–62 b*). Postea iussit rex Salomon illam uenerandam arborem honorifice in templo reponi. Multa autem per illam facta sunt miracula. Contigit autem una die sacrarum solemnitatum, uenit cum muneribus in Ierusalem adorare in templum, audita fama sanctitatis huius trabis, discreti uiri et mulieres inclinantes capita trabem sanctam uenerabantur. Uenit ergo quedam mulier, Maximilla nomine, ignara tante sanctitatis, incaute resedit super lignum. Ceperunt continuo uestes eius cremari, unde uoce prophetica clamauit dicens, ‘Deus meus et dominus meus Ihesus Christus!’ Et tum nondum erat sermo de Christo. Que audientes Iudei extraxerunt eam et eiecerunt extra ciuitatem secus portam aquilonis, et lapidauerunt eam ut blasphemiam. 15 Hec est prima martir facta pro nomine Christi. *The beam was then cast into the probatica piscina, but on account of the miracles performed there it was taken out again and laid as a bridge trans torrentem Siloatecum, in order that any virtue in it might be trodden out. Queen Sibylla, coming to hear Solomon's wisdom, worshipped it and prophesied. It remained there until the time of Christ. The substance of this paragraph agrees with §§ 24–27 of Meyer's Latin Legend, though the wording is different.*

§ 15 (*MS. Harl. f. 62 b–63 b*). Cum enim dominus noster Ihesus Christus mori iudicaretur, querebant Iudei et sciscitabantur ubi 25 lignum idoneum ad crucem Christi faciendam inuenire possent, ad quod quidam Iudeus ita respondens ait: ‘Extra ciuitatem iacet ponticula illa que fuit facta ex arbore regia. Illam cecate et regi Iudeorum crucem facite.’ Hoc a semetipso non dixit, set, quia fieri oportebat, ita factum est. Post clamidem Christo impositam 30 uadunt Iudei secum Christum ducentes et secant terciam partem trabis, que erat longitudo .xxx. cubitorum et imponunt Christo crucem gestandam. Regredientes autem obuiant Symoni cuidam

6. So *MS.*

20. After prophesying Sibylla seems to have crossed by the bridge: transiens autem inde Sibylla uenit ad Salomonem. According to the Latin

Legend: subtractis uestibus nudis pedibus torrentem illum transiuit.

30. parte *MS.*

32. *Matth. xxvii. 32.*

Cireneo, quem angariant, ut tollat crucem Ihesu Christi. Et tulit illam usque ad locum Caluarie. Iterum secant lignum illud, quod erat .x. cubitorum, et inde faciunt duas partes: una quidem tres cubitos habebat, et altera .vii. Breuiorem quidem partem ponunt ex transuerso, et longiorem fingunt in directo. Forma enim huius 5 sancti ligni figuratur per litteram illam tau. In hac Christi cruce penes capud Christi ponunt tabellulam quamdam quadratam, in qua scripsit Pilatus titulum: ‘Ihesus Nazarenus rex Iudeorum.’

§ 16 (*MS. Harl. f. 63^b-65*). Sic enim crux Christi erat operata; reliqua uero pars illius sancte arboris in templo portabatur, et ibi 10 iacuit usque ad tempus Constantini imperatoris. Ipse autem Constantinus, dum imperatoriam susceperebat dignitatem, misit ad Ierusalem sanctam matrem suam, Helenam, que etiam inquisiuit sanctam Christi crucem constanter, unde meruit et illam uidere ouanter, sicut sermo diuinus testatur, qui in eiusdem sancte crucis 15 inuencione recitat. Postquam ergo sancta crux Christi erat inuenta, ingressa est templum domini beata Helena, moxque ut sancte arboris partem uidit, interrogauit quid hoc esset, aut

§ 16. Ensi fu la crois faite d'icel saint fust; et l'autre partie dou fust si remest au temple iusques au tans Constantin l'empereour. 20 Et quant Constantins fu empereres, si enuoia sainte Elaine sa mere en Iherusalem pour querre et demander la sainte crois. Et si auint par le plaisir de nostre Singnor qu'ele le trouua, si come il est en escrit en la legende de la inuention. Puis que sainte Elaine ot trouuee la sainte crois, si entra ou temple Damadiu et 25 uit le remanant dou fust de la crois, qui fu illuec remes, et demanda que chou estoit et quel fust chou ere, ne dont il estoit

8. John xix. 19.

9. This and the following paragraphs are wanting in *Ca*, which breaks off near the end of § 15, the remaining leaves of the *MS.* having been lost. A comparison of these paragraphs with the corresponding ones in *Andrius* (printed above) and *Rood-Tree* shows however that this lost part of *Ca.* must have been identical with *H.*

10. portabatur has obviously been introduced by the scribe of *H* to make this paragraph agree with the foregoing, in which the beam was lying outside the temple, having been used as a bridge. The original must have contained the simple statement that the wood remained in the temple; cf. the reading of *Andrius*.

19. *Andrius*, continued from p. 53.

unde uenisset; responsum acceperat, quod ex illa arbore remuneret de qua crux Christi facta erat. Tunc beata Helena cepit deum rogare, ut dignaretur sibi manifestare, quidnam deberet facere de illa sancta arbore. Et ecce aparuit ei angelus domini in sompnis ita dicens: ‘O beata Helena, iam nunc exaudita est oratio tua, quapropter diluculo precipie sanctam illam arborem in .iii. partes succidere, illasque .iii. sectiones diuidere per .iii. partes orbis terre.’ Fecit ergo beata Helena sicut in sompnis est amonita; nam unam partem dimisit in Ierusalem, et alteram misit ad Romam, terciam misit ad Alexandriam, atque .iii. secum portauit ad Constantinopolim, dum detulit ad filium suum Constantinum illam sancte crucis Christi medietatem. Nunc ergo illud unum est in Ierusalem, et aliud in Const[ant]inopolim, que adhuc in illis sunt locis ita integra sicut fuerunt operata; nobis autem manet incognitum ubi sit tertium, quod erat scriptum. De istis autem sanctis duobus lignis pauci habent homines, uel

uenus; et disent que ce estoit le remenant dou fust de la crois ou Damedius fu mis. Lors pria sainte Elaine Damediu qu'il li monstrast sauoir qu'ele deuoit faire d'icel saint fust. Cele nuit s'aparut li angeles Damediu a li en dormant et si li dist: ‘Helaine, tu es mout bone euree, et Damediex si a oie ta proiere, et ses tu que tu feras? Tu feras icel saint fust trencier en .iii. parties et les departiras es quatre parties del monde.’ Sainte Elaine fist trenchier le fust, si come li angeles li auoit dit, en .iii. parties et laissa l'une partie en Iherusalem, et l'autre enuoia a Romme, la tierce partie en Alexandrie, et la quarte partie en aporta auoec soi en Constantinoble. Ensi en aporta sainte Elaine a son fil a Constantinoble la moitie de la sainte crois ou Ihesu Cris fu crucefies. En icele sainte crois si ot .iii. fus: li uns aloit contremont et li autres en trauers; li tiers si fu celui ou li cies mon Singnor fu poses, ou Pylate fist escrire lettres: ‘C'est Ihesus li rois des Iuis.’ Ichis dous fus fu

14. adhuc in illis adhuc s. MS.
30. et li a. en tr.] et li autres con-

treual. li autres en trauers MS.
32. Ichis etc.] so MS.

nullus; set de illa arbore multi habent homines, et in diuersis est locis, quam angelus domini iussit in .iiii. partes diuidere et per .iiii. partes mundi mittere, et dicitur quod sit de sancta Christi cruce, et recte dici potest ita, quia crux Christi de arbore illa erat facta, et arbor illa de cruce Christi sanctificata uero 5 mirabiliter oriri cepit, et mirabilius creuit, atque per eam multa facta sunt signa, antequam esset corpore Christi dedicata, et ideo ueraciter credi potest quod tota sit crux Christi.

§ 17 (*MS. Harl. fol. 65–66*). Postquam igitur inuenta est crux, et declarata per resurrectionem mortui, inuenti sunt et sancti clavi, 10 cum quibus affixum est corpus Christi. Et ecce iterum angelus domini ad beatam uenit Helenam in sompnis ita dicens: ‘Accipe clavos sanctos, et fac de illis saliuares, et in freno equi regis pone illos, quia magnas uirtutes [habent] et multum ualent contra omnium hostium incursus.’ Tunc beata Helena fecit, sicut ei angelus 15

de la sainte crois ou Diex fu mis. Si sunt li uns en Iherusalem et li autre en Constantinoble, ausi entier come il furent ouuret. Li tiers ou li chies fu poses, ne sai ou il fu mis. D'icel saint fust sachies que nus hom n'en a point, et se aucuns en a, c'est mout petit; mais d'icel fust que li angeles comanda qu'il fust departis 20 en .iiii. parties dou monde a il em plusors liex, et dient que c'est de la sainte crois; et a bon droit est ele apielee la sainte crois, car la crois ou diex fu mis, fu faite d'icel saint arbre. Et maint miracle et maint signe fist Damidius por cel fust, anchois qu'il fust saintefies de la char Ihesu Crist, et pour ce puet on bien 25 croire tout uraiement que tout soit de la crois Ihesu Crist.

§ 17. Puis que la crois fu trouuee et que elle fu esprouee par la resurrexion de mort, si furent apres trouue li clau desquex li cors Ihesu Crist fu cruciefies. Et li angeles Damidieu uint a sainte Elaine par auision en dormant et si li dist: ‘Prent les 30 sains claus et si les fai mettre a un frain, et icel frain bailleras tu ton fil a l'empereour a metre a son cheual, car il ont mout grant uertu et lui uaudront mout encontre ses anemis.’ Lors fist

14. *habent is wanting in the MS.*

16. *uns] .iiii. MS.*
18. *chief MS.*

domini precepit, et sic preparatum frenum deduxit ad ciuitatem Constantinopolim, et tradidit filio suo uenerando Constantino imperatori. Ille igitur imperator quocumque iuit, semper illud sanctum frenum in equo suo posuit, et exiuit de ore eius equi 5 tanquam flamma ignis, unde et omnes qui uidebant hoc miraculum conuersi sunt ad dominum propter uisionis illius horrorem. Rex ergo, ut tantum uidit miraculum, totam circuiuit illam regionem, omnesque conuertit ad dominum sanctorum terrore clauorum, et postea rediit Constantinopolim. Post explecionem trium annorum 10 secundum ammonicionem angelicam sanctos clauos de suo abstulit freno illosque affixit in sancto crucis ligno; ibique habentur magno honore.

§ 18 (*MS. Harl. f. 66–67^b*). O quam clara beate Helene merita, cui a domino tanta concessa est gratia, ut per eius studiosam inquisicio- 15 nem thesaurus esset inuentus, qui diu fuit absconditus, crux uidelicet sancta, crux gloriosa et adoranda, lignum preciosum et admirabile

madame sainte Elaine si come li angeles li comanda, et fist apparellier le frain et l'emporta a Constantinoble et le bailla a l'empereour son fil. Et Constantins li empereres en quelconque 20 lieu qu'il aloit, il metoit le frain en son ceual, et de la bouce dou ceual issoit si grant flambe de fu, que tout cil qui ueoient icel miracle si s'en esmeruelloient mout et s'en conuertissoient de la paour d'ices clos par cele auision en paradis. Li empereres quant il uit si grant miracle et uit que les gens s'en conuertissoient, si 25 ala .iii. ans par toute la tere, et tout se conuertissoient por la paour d'ices sains clos. Apres s'en torna uers Constantinoble, apres ice quant .iii. an furent passet, si osta li empereres les sains clos dou saint frain, si come li angeles li comanda, et les ficha ou fust de la sainte crois; illuec sunt a mout grant honour.

30 § 18. He dieus, come sunt grandes les merites de madame sainte Elaine, a qui Damadius otria tant de grace que li tresors de la sainte crois fu trouues par li, qui tant longement auoit este repus. Toutes les gens auoient mout grant paour tant

1. sic] sicut *MS.*
16. preciosum *MS.*

21. fu, que] fu. Et *MS.*
27. ans *MS.*

signum, per quod salutis sumpsimus sacramentum et conftractis tartari claustris, aperta est nobis ianua regni celestis. Ipsa enim felix et beata Helena post inuencionem sancte crucis meruit inuenire sanctos clauos, cum quibus dominicum confixum erat corpus; fecitque eos saliuares, et posuit eos in freno equi regis, 5 sicut supradiximus. Ueniens autem beata Helena ad suum filium Constantinum, dedit ei frenum sanctis clauorum magnaliis adornatum; et rex ipse quocienscumque equitabat, semper illud sanctum frenum in equo suo ponebat, sicut ab angelo sancto ei preceptum fuerat. Maximum uero habebant timorem et stuporem 10 omnes qui uidebant regem equitantem, quia plus quam per unum miliarium quaqua uersum uidebatur flamma et coruscacio, que procedebat de ore illius equi. O uere felicem et beatum imperatorem, qui tantam sortitus est prerogatiuam, ut nullus meruit ante eum nec post tam sanctum habere frenum. Nam 15 in spacio trium annorum multa milia hominum conuersi sunt ad dominum per sacrum illius freni fulgorem atque coruscacionem. Expletis igitur trium curriculis annorum, angelus domini ad eundem dixit imperatorem, ‘Nunc ergo habes expletam uoluntatem dei, iamque prope est tempus tuum. Quapropter rediens 20 uenire debes ad Constantinopolim.’ Audiens igitur hec imperator Constantinus fecit sicut ab angelo est ammonitus, iussit clauos

que li clau furent ou frain l'empereour. Car tout cil qui le ueoient ceuauchier, pooient bien ueoir d'une lieue la flambe dou feu et la resplendisor qui issoit de la bouce dou cheual. He dieus, 25 come est bon eures et glorieus empereres, qui deserui a auoir si rice frain, que onques nul home n'ot si rice ne auant lui ne apres. Car en l'espasse de .iii. ans se conuertirent maint millier de homes a nostre Singnor por la resplendissour d'ices sains claus. Et apres ces .iii. ans uint li angeles Dame dieu et dist, ‘Biaus sire, tu 30 as ore l'amor et la uolente de Diu, et li tans est pres que tu retorneras a la chite en Constantinoble.’ Et quant li empereres oi ce, si fist tout quanques li angeles li comanda.

dominicos de freno equi sui tollere et in sancta Christi cruce reponere, ibique usque hodie maxima habentur ueneracione.

§ 19 (*MS. Harl. f. 67^b-68^b*). Hec ergo, fratres karissimi, ideo repetere curauimus, ut magis nota essent omnibus audientibus.
 5 Mirabiliter cepit oriri arbor sancta, de qua facta est crux Christi adoranda; et mirabilius aparuit Moysi, famulo dei, per .iii. noctes continuas. Atque adhuc mirabilius in terra stetit usque ad tempus Dauid regis nichil crescens neque uiriditatem uel foliorum teneritudinem perdens, set per omnia sic permanxit, sicut Moisy primo
 10 aparuit, donec Dauid sanctus meruit illam de loco suo transferre et in ortulo suo reponere. Ibi enim erat crescens ita ut in .xxx. annis efficeretur arbor grandis. Dauid autem illam plantauit, et Salomon filius eius eam succidit, eo quod unam non haberet trabem, dum construeret gloriosum Christi templum. Illa siquidem arbor
 15 sancta, dum fuisse succisa, nullo modo potuit ad opus decretum aptari, quia prefinita est ad crucem Christi ante constitutionem.

¶ 19. Ensi fu la crois trouuee, come uous oi aues, et au comencement et a la fin, mais mout fu grans li miracles d'icel saint fust, quant Moyses trouua ices .iii. uerges. Et mout fu grans miracles
 20 qu'elles ne crurent onques puis iusques au tans que sains Dauid les en ot portees, et trop fu grans meruelle que li cedres et li cypres et li pins se tindrent tout ensamble et ne fu que uns seuys arbres, et mout fu grans meruelle que li arbres qui tant fait a loer, qui estoit plus biaus et plus hans que nus des autres qui onques fust ne auant
 25 ne puis, quant Salemons le fist trenchier que onques ne pot auenir a l'oeure del temple; par foi ce fu pour ce qu'il n'estoit pas dignes fors de soustenir les membres Ihesu Crist. En lui fu pendue la uie dou monde, en lui ot Ihesu Crist uictoire, ele sourmonta la mort. Et les .xxx. cercles d'argent de quoi li sains rois Dauid aourna le
 30 temple, ceaus prisent li Iuis et les donnerent a Iudas le malauenrous por Ihesum qu'il lor uendi; et ce fu por la profesie acomplir, car il dist, 'Il me misent a pris de .xxx. pieces d'argent et itant me prisierent.' Et en la pasion Ihesu Crist dist sains Matius que

26. il] ele *MS.*
digne *MS.*

28. ele] so the *MS.* See the Latin,
p. 69³.
32. pris] pres *MS.*

mundi, sicut superius audistis, fratres karissimi. Ista ergo leccio iam nunc sit ita terminata, ne forte audientibus uideatur esse fastidiosa; et nunc in hac lectionis clausula magna ad dominum clamemus instance omni diligencia et perseverancia, ut dignetur nos purgare sua consueta clemencia ab omni peccatorum inmundicia, 5 et cuncta ministrare sancta et prospera, et nunc et per omnia seculorum secula. Amen. Explicit.

Iudas ala as princes des prouoires et lor demanda combien il lui donroient s'il lor liuroit Ihesum. Et lor dist itant, 'Que me donries uous,' fist soi Iudas, 'se iou le uous liuroie?' Et li Iuis lui 10 establirent son loier, et ce fu les .xxx. cercles d'argent qui pendoient au temple, car il estoient de la communance. Lors uint Iudas li malauentureus et prist ces .xxx. cercles d'argent et lor liura Ihesum. Et puis si s'en ala en sa maison et raconta a sa mere tout isi come il auoit ouure et coment il auoit uendut Thesum. 15 Quant la mere Iudas oi coment il comencha a crier et a braire et a faire mout grant duel et dist tout en plorant, 'Ha lasse chaitie! que ferai? pour quoi conchui onques ices fil, ices ceitif?' [Then follows the story about Judas and his mother.]

II.

EXTRACTS FROM THE OLD FRENCH POEM¹.I. Lines 29-87².

- Quant Moyses ot amenee
30 La gent qui li fu commandee,
Et il et ses frere Aaron
Dou seruise au roy Pharaon,
Et furent uenu outre mer,
En Elyn les couint aler.
35 Lai furent d'aigue molt destroit,
- Por ce que pou en i hauoit,
N'en trouerent ne loing ne pres.
Illec s'andormit Moyses.
Au matin, quant il se resuoile,
A sun chief fuit l'aigue molt 40
pres
Une uergete de cypres
Et une de cedre a senestre

^{11.} qui] quil MS.^{13.} ces] ce MS.^{16.} some words have dropped out here, cf. the Latin, p. 69.^{31.} freres MS.^{37.} N'en] Ne MS.^{39.} A line missing.¹ Printed from MS. fr. 763 (Bibl. Nat. Paris) fol. 267^e. Cf. Introduction.² Corresponding to lines 6301-6368 of the Cursor Mundi.

- Et autre de pin deuers dextre
 Lour natures bien demonstroient
 45 Es fulles qu[e]elles portoient.
 Moyses le uit et troua
 Et paour ost, ne remua.
 Lors uait une iornee entiere
 O le pueple querre riuiere.
 50 La nuit ou il se rendormit,
 Les a ueues autresi,
 A la tierce nuit ausimant.
 Dont scout il bien certainement
 Que c'estoit une prophecie
 55 Et que grant chose senefie.
 Et bien le scout des qu'il le uit,
 Et o aperte uoix le dit,
 Que senefient Trinite,
 Les .iii. personnes en .i. Deu,
 60 Et qu'une meruoillouse chose
 Seroit en ces uerges enclose.
 De la terre les a donc traitez
 Si bien que ne furent deffaites,
 Et ensemble o soi les porta
 65 Tant comme li desers dura.
 A Raphindin les a portees ;
 Illec ont telz aigues trouees
 Il et sa gent que il menoit,
 Onques nuls boire n'an poot;
 70 N'an beussient ploinne une buie
 Quar plus ere amere que suie.
 Des que Moyses i ot mises
 Les uerges que il auoit prises,
 Maintenant fuit l'aigue adoucie,
 75 La gent en buit, molt en fuit lie ;
- Quar ainz ne burent de meillor
 Ne de si tres bone sauor.
 Cest miracle uirent apert
 Tuit cil qui erent ou desert.
 Les uerges tint Moyses chieres ; 80
 Pres de lui, ioste les riuieres,
 En .i. leu secret les couuri,
 Quant il monta en Sinay ;
 Tant comme il fist sa quaran-
 taine,
 Celes furent a terre pleinne. 85
 Ain ne blemi fulle ne flor,
 Touz temps tenoient lour uerdor.

II. Lines 126-181¹ (MS. 763.
fol. 268).

Dauid, puis que Deus l'ot eslit, 126
 .I. soir se gisoit en sun lit ;
 .X. ans ot le regne tenu,
 Maintes foiz se fuit combatu ;
 Touz temps auoit les Philistex 130
 Voisins et enemis mortelz,
 Qui point n'esprenoient sun
 pueple
 Ne il aux de riens ne lor
 meuble ;
 Souent les destraint et ensarre,
 Aux occit et destruit lor terre. 135
 Lai ou se iut prist a penser
 Commant il les porroit greuer.
 Quant il i ot .i. pou pense,
 Si se soigne et commande a Deu
 Si c'est endormis a itant ; 140

48. uoit MS.

49. puiple MS.

62. donc] desus MS.

70. buie] bure MS.

132. puiple MS.

136. a] au MS.

¹ Corresponding to lines 7973-8033 of the *Cursor Mundi*.

- Li anges Deu li uint deuant,
 Qui de par Deu nostre signor
 Li dist messaige de douceor :
 ‘ Tu dors, Dauid, mas ie t’ esuoil
 145 ‘ Et de par Deu te doin consoil :
 ‘ Des que Deus t’ out esleu a roy,
 ‘ A il sum cuer ensemble o toi ;
 ‘ Par moi te mande que tu ailles
 ‘ Outre Iordan et te trauailles
 150 ‘ Ou leu ou Moyses mori,
 ‘ Et lai ou Dex l’anseueli,
 ‘ Si que nulz homs ne le persut,
 ‘ Ne nuls ne scout quant il morut.
 ‘ Lai troueras une hautesce
 155 ‘ Qui uant trestote la richesce
 ‘ Que tuit cil puent aioster
 ‘ Qui sunt en terre et uont par
 mer.
 ‘ Ce sunt .iii. uerges pres et pres,
 ‘ De pin, de cedre, [de] cypres,
 160 ‘ Que Moyses i aporta
 ‘ D’un leu lai ou il les troua.
 ‘ Molt ont en elles de uertu,
 ‘ De medicine, de salu.
 ‘ Cestes feront grant auantaige
 165 ‘ A toi et a tot ton linaige.
 ‘ Homs qui se repose en lour
 umbre
 ‘ N’ a poour que nuls malz l’ an-
 cambre.
 ‘ Ie pran congie, na querre tost,
 ‘ Fai semondre, iouster ton ost.’
- Quant Dauid ot la chose oie, 170
 Assemble sa cheualerie
 Et a passe le flun Iordan.
 Tant alerent par bois, par plain,
 Qu’il a les .iii. uerges trouees,
 Lai ou li furent enseignees. 175
 Deus qu’i les uit bien les cognut,
 A ce que anseignie li fut.
 Toutes .iii. est[o]ient d’un grant,
 D’une groissour et d’un samblant.
 Plus auoit de mil ans passez, 180
 Que li tuel furent plantez.
- III. Lines 202–332¹. (MS.
fr. 763. fol. 268c.)
- Ainz ne troua homme ne beste 202
 Qui li ousast faire moleste.
 A .i. riche home sunt torne,
 Plain de molt grant enfermete, 205
 Qui longuement auoit geu
 Sans esperance de salu.
 Li roiz fist la gent repouser,
 Le malade uat uiseter,
 Des uerges li dist la nouelle, 210
 Ciz tint sa main a sa memelle,
 De la ioie des uerges plore,
 Touz sains fuit en meisme l’ore.
 Li rois se rest mis au retor,
 Cilz le conuoie a grant honor 215
 Et ot molt grant procession.
 Molt en furent lie li baron.
 Entre sunt ou reaul chemin,
 Lors uindrent .iiii. Sarredin

143. de] o MS.

147. o toi] 9 toi MS.

149. O. I.] Entre iardin MS.

152. prosut MS.

167. pooir MS.

179. samblent MS.

210. nouale MS.

213. ens MS.

¹ Corresponding to lines 8052–8193
of the *Cursor Mundi*.

- 220 D'Eciope, s'estoient molt noir,
Et port[o]ient molt grant auoir.
Ains ne uit hons de lor natures
Plus contrefaites creatures. En la feulle et en la racine.
225 Au pis lour tienent li manton,
Noirs [ont] et roiges les sorcils¹.
Les boiches granz et les ieulz gros,
Les [denz] aguz, corbes les dos.
Grans harnois ont emi lou front, Elles nos rendront no biaute,
230 Ne poent ueoir contre amont ;
Ambedeus les bras ont iostez
De ci qu'as coutes as costez,
Et hont boiches sor les eschines,
Les iambes tortes et enclines. Nostre force et nostre sante. 255
235 Assez les esgarda li roys
Et li autre par lour gabois.
Il command[nt] au roy a dire :
' Bien ueine li saluz, biau sire,
Que uos portez ; nous i uenons,
240 Et se Dieu plait, prou i haurons.
Monstrez a nos le fruit saluable,
Bien le scauons, n'est mie fable,
Ou soffrera peine et torment
Li roys de gloire por sa gent.
245 Mostre[z] nos le fruit de salu,
Des qu'il ont le roi cogneu
Assez nos ueez esgardez.
Bocu sommes, bien le scauez,
Bien ueez que nos summes mors
250 Et lait et dedans et defors¹.
Trois tours enuiron les ouroilles.
Celz uerges portent medicine Par ces uerges, bien le croions,
Hauront tuit cil uerai pardon
Qui de cuer crieront merci
Au roy Ihesu, le fil Dauid.
A cest mot sunt uenu auant. 260
Li rois Dauid oste sun gant,
Prant les uerges, uers aux les
baisse,
Et cil deuotement les baise.
Inel le pas furent tuit blanc
Et tuit couert de gentil sanc, 265
Et apres ce tot erramment
Furent sanne comme autre gent.
Quant furent uenu a sante,
Molt en gracient Damede
Et se mettent a orison. 270
Ce uit Dauid et sui baron ;
Chascuns d'aus de sa ioie plore.
Ne firent pas longue demore,
Quanqu'il portoient ont ouffert,
Puis s'an reuennent ou desert. 275
Li rois s'an uat par une plainne,
Tant qu'il uint a une fontaine.
Illuc i. hermitaige auoit
.XL. ans este i auoit¹
Plains de molt grant enfermete, 280
Par tot le cors estoit lieprous.
Par ce estoit illec [touz] soulz,
De grant terre auoit este sires
Mas laissie l'auoit par ire

¹ A line missing here.

226. Noires MS.

227. grandes MS.

229. harnois so MS.

242. sceuons MS.

243. soffrera MS.

246. so MS.

254. no] nos MS.

285 Dou mal et de l'anfermete,
 Si est pris au seruise De.
 La nuit deuant li ert ausis
 Qu'il estoit ioste paradis,
 Ou li rois Dauid l'esrosoit
 290 A une uerge qu'il portoit,
 Et apres se trouoit tout sain,
 De sa liepre gari et plain.
 Ice uit en sa uision,
 Ne scauoit pas que li baron
 295 Eussent les uerges trouees,
 Ne en cest pais aportees.
 Quant see suilla molt fuit pensis,
 Donc pria Deu et ses amis,
 Que ansinc li fust santez uenuue,
 300 Comme il l'ot en songe ueue.
 Ains qu'il ot ce pense et dit,
 Des uerges une flamble issit,
 Qui s'an uint droit a l'er[m]jitaige.
 Li rois uint lai o sun barnaige.
 305 Quant orent l'ermite troue,
 Molt l'ont doucement salue,
 Et cilz lour rendi lour salu.
 Des qu'il ot le roy cogneu :
 ‘Sire,’ fait il, ‘bien ueinies uous,
 310 Par uos ert gariz li lieprous.
 Ne uos dirai nulle mansonge,
 Anuit m'iert ausis en mon songe
 Que ie iere ioste paradiz
 Et m'aroscies, ce m'iert uis,
 315 Biau sire, a ces glorious rains
 Que uos tenez entre uos mains.’

327. depart MS.

327-8 so the MS.

330. ses] les MS.

A tant les uerges a baisies,
 Et les boces sunt aunies,
 Et fuit si sainz comme .i. poisssons.
 Au roi rendi grans guerredons. 320
 Cil se mit en sa compagnie
 Et le serui toute sa uie.
 Preuz cheualiers fuit et hardiz,
 Courtoiz et de sen bien apris.
 Lores s'an uont au flun Lordain, 325
 Li rois les uerges en sa main.
 L'aigue se departi deuant,
 Ne courrut desus ne desous,
 Tant que li roys i fuit passez,
 Et apres lui touz ses barnez. 330
 Quant il orent l'aigue passee,
 Meruoillouse ioie ont menee.
 IV. Lines 918-931¹. (MS.
 fr. 763, fol. 272^c.)
 Quant on dut le temple sacrer, 918
 Si le uout on dou temple oster.
 Plusour le uol[o]ient auoir, 920
 Mas nou laissoient remouoir.
 Apres quant Salemons fu mors,
 I uint uns prestre o sun effors.
 Vii hommes i arangia.
 Onques nulz d'aus nou remua, 925
 A ferremans le uout trainclfier,
 Trop se hasta dou commandier,
 Dou tref une flambe se prent,
 Qui le prouoire art et sa gent.
 Li prestres ot nom Arillus. 930
 Illec fuit mors ne uesqui plus.

923. prestes MS. effort MS.

¹ Corresponding to lines 8867-8880 of the *Cursor Mundi*.

III.

THE LATIN JUDAS STORY¹.

Mirabiliter cepit oriri arbor sancta de tribus uirgulis composita : prima erat cipressina, atque alia cedrina, et pini speciem habebat tercia. Cipressus itaque patris significationem habet. Cedrus uero significat unigenitum dei filium. Pinus etiam portendit paraclitum spiritum sanctum. De quibus facta est crux Christi adoranda. Et mirabilius stetit in terra usque ad tempus Dauid regis, nichil crescens, neque uiriditatem uel foliorum teneritudinem perdens ; sed per omnia sic permansit, sicut primum Moysi apparuit, donec Dauid sanctus meruit illam de loco suo transferre et in ortulo suo reponere. Ibi enim erat ita crescens, ut .xxx. annis efficeretur arbor grandis. Hec inter omnes arbor una nobilis de illis tribus excreuit uirgulis, quas dei amicus Moyses, a sompno excitatus, circa se repperit exortas per tres continuas noctes, quas et deo dilectus Dauid ad Ierusalem detulit ; ibi enim in uiridario suo collocatas 15 per annos .xxx. coluit, et in unoquoque anno in illarum summitate unum argenteum circulum innexuit, et reliquos inferius innexos dilatauit, ut arbor dilataretur in grossum et extenderetur in longum. Ille siquidem uirgule, continuatam habentes uiriditatem, in unam simul concreuerunt arborem. Que scilicet arbor, mire suavitatis 20 habens odorem, estate et hyeme inmarcescibiles protulit frondium flores. Peracto siquidem tempore prefinito, eadem laudabilis arbor, omnibus cedris Libani sublimior, iussu regis Salomonis succiditur.

¹ Printed from MS. Jesus Coll. (Oxford), No. 4 (late 12th century), fol. 96, with variant readings from MSS. Douce 88 (first half of 14th century), fol. 32^b, and ff. 2, 8 (Cambridge Univ. Libr., 14th century), fol. 6. The MSS. are denoted by J, D, and C respectively. All contractions have been expanded, and variants which differ merely in spelling, are disregarded.

1. irabiliter, without initial, J.

2. alia] altera C. pynis D.
4. etiam] uero J.
6. mirabiliter C.
10. Ibi] Illa D.
xxx. annorum D, in tricesimo anno C.
11. tribus illis C.
12. excreuit wanting C.
14. collatas J.
18. continuam C.
20. odorem wanting in J, D. protulit wanting in J, D.

Dum in edificio templi domini nullo modo ualuisset coequari, in crucifixione tamen corporis Christi digna fuit coaptari, in qua uita mundi pependit, in qua Iesus triumphauit, et mors mortem superauit. Nam et triginta argenteos circulos in templo domini suspensos uesani acceperunt Iudei et tradiderunt infelici Iude pro 5 traditione domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut esset ueraciter adimpletum quod ita dictum est per prophetam : ‘Apprehenderunt mercedem meam .xxx. argenteis, quos appreuiatus sum ab eis.’ Et in passione domini secundum Mathei positionem de eodem infelici Iuda scriptum est, quod iret ad principes sacerdotum et inquireret ab 10 eis precium de tradizione nostri saluatoris, ita inquiens : ‘Quid uultis mihi dare, et ego uobis eum tradam ?’ At illi constituerunt ei .xxx. argenteos, illos scilicet predictos .xxx. circulos, qui in templo domini pendebant, quosque communiter possidebant.

Tunc infelix Iudas accepit .xxx. argenteos pro uenditione 15 domini nostri Iesu Christi, et, uendito illo, rediit ad domum suam et retulit matri sue per ordinem quomodo tradidisset dominum Iesum Christum. Audiens igitur mater eius, quod ab eo traditus esset dominus Iesus Christus, conuersa est in furore et lacrimis, ita dicens : ‘Heu me miseram, que te celeratum genui filium ! Quid 20 tibi et iusto illi ? Quare, infelix, sanctum et iustum tradere uoluisti ? Nunc ergo absque ulla dubitatione omnes maledictiones implebuntur in te, que per prophetam ita sunt scriptae : “Fiant filii eius orphani, et uxor eius uidua,” et cetera que secuntur. Non

- 1. Dum] Que uero C.
ualuisserent J.
- 2. tamen *wanting in C.*
corporis Christi] dominici cor-
poris D.
- 3. in qua I. triumphauit *wanting*
in D.
Jesus] Christus C.
- 7. predictum C.
Appenderunt C.
mercedem . . . ab eis, so in MSS.
J and D ; C has mercedem in xxx
ar. q. a. s. ab e. Cf. Zach. xi. 12, Et
appenderunt mercedem meam triginta
argenteos. Et dixit dominus ad me :
Projice illud ad statuarium, decorum
pretium quo appreuiatus sum ab eis.
- 9. inposicionem C.
- 11. Matt. xxvi. 15.
- 12. eum uobis D.
uobis e. tr.] etc. C.
- 13. the second . xxx. *wanting in*
C.
- 14. que] et C.
- 16. domini n. I. Chr.] nostri salua-
toris C, D.
ad] in C.
- 19. in furore (-rem C) conuersa
est C, D.
- 21. iustum et sanctum C.
- 22. absque u. d. after omnes in. C.
- 23. ita *wanting C.*
Psal. cviii. 9.
- 24. eius . . . secuntur] etc. C.
cetera] alia D.

enim, ut estimas, tradidisti filium hominis, sed unigenitum dei patris. Et, ecce, a te ipsius sanguis exquiritur, et tu mortis eius reus extiteris. Uere de illo propheta dicit: "Filius hominis uadit, sicut scriptum est de illo, sed ue illi per quem traditus fuerit." 5 Nunc ergo, fili doloris mei, quid acturus uel dicturus eris, dum ueritatis prophetam a mortuis resurrexisse cognoueris?' Ad uocem igitur lacrimose matris in iracundiam prouocatus, Iudas respexit ad focum, uiditque supra eum feruentem stantem ollam et in ea semicoctum iacentem gallum, clamauitque ad matrem suam: 'Quo- 10 modo in tantum deuenisti errorem, ut illum amentem dicas prophetam fuisse atque a mortuis aliquando resurrectum? Ego autem per maximum affirmo iuramentum, quod de ista poterit olla facilius hic depilatus exire gallus quam resurgere a mortuis ille crucifixus.' Hec dum infelix ganniret Iudas, semicoctus gallus 15 effectus est uiuus, et protinus de feruenti olla exiliens, apparuit pulcherrimus, pennisque et plumis restitutus uolauit supra tecta domus, ibique diu mansit ouans et cantans, quasi prenuntiaret tempus Christi resurrectionis. Affirmauit ergo editio Grecorum hunc eundem extitisse gallum, qui eadem nocte ter cantando 20 Petrum arguit negantem, super quem continuo dominus respexit lacrimantem. Hoc autem signo territus, infelix Iudas abiit ad locum ubi passus est Christus, uidensque illum esse dampnatum, proiecit in templo argenteos, unde antea fuerint abstracti a Iudeis, et abiens, laqueo se suspendit. Sicque inter celum et terram periit, 25 quia magistrum suum tradidit, immo unigenitum dei filium et saluatorem omnium credentium.

2. sanguis ipsius C.

3. *Matt. xxvi. 24.*

4. de illo *wanting* C.
illo] eo D.
erit C.

5. quid dicturus D.

6. resuscitatum C.

7. igitur] ergo C.

8. que *wanting* C.

11. aliquando *before* a. m. C.

16. et *wanting in* D.

17. domus *wanting in* C.

19. extitisse] fuisse C.

20. super . . . lacrimantem *wanting in* C.

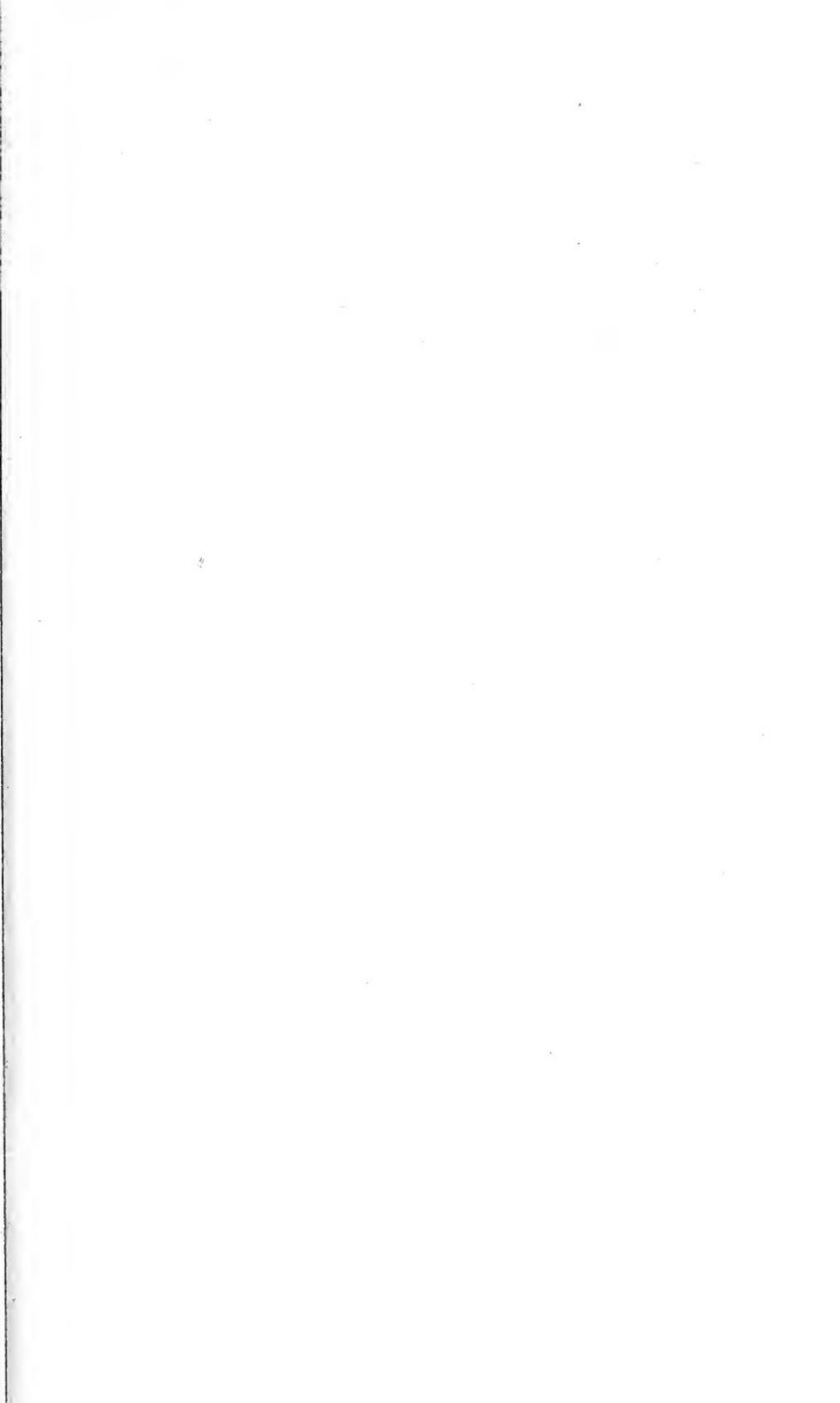
dominus continuo D.

22. esse *wanting in* D.

23. fuerint C.

abstracta J, abstrata D.

25. dei unigenitum C.



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off asse. off swillke. All patt
man sholde biggen ⁿūt. Wipp
fife wehhte off silfer. J tatt
wass sett purrh drikhtin godd?
5 For þ it sholdle taenē. þat
te birp ^rseggen wipp piⁿ muþ. 7
ec wipp ⁿinward herrte. þatt all
piⁿ clene dede iss don? purrh
godd. 7 purrh hiss hellpe. J swa
10 ðe birp ^ritt offren godd? purrh
þ te birrp ⁿwel trowwen. þatt
drikhtin setteþp i piⁿ pohlt. god
dede to beginnenn. Swa þatt
itt all bigunnenn iss. 7 for-
15 pedd purrh hiss hellpe.
V J te birrp biggen ⁿūt at godd.
all þin unclene dede. J all þe
birp ^ritt biggenn ⁿūt? wipp fife
wahhte off silfer. V Hatt. iss k.

godd. 7 forr hiss woh to be-
ten. O fife wise pinen her.
40 hiss bodig. 7 hiss sawle. J
biggen ⁿūt att drikhtin
swa. All hiss unclene dede.
Purrh wiþt shrifte. þ
birrp beon puss. O fife wi-
45 se forþedl? All all swa summ pe
lageboc. Badd issraele þeo-
de. Aȝȝ biggen ⁿūt uncle-
ne deor. Wipp fife wehte off
sillferr. V O moysecess
50 lage stod ~ Swa summ icc
habbe shæwedd. Patt aȝȝ
þegȝ sholdenn bringenn
lac? Wipp child till godess
alterr. Wipp cranechild. wipp
55 maggden ⁿ child? Wipp bæpe
n on aue wise. V þe lac wass

20	te birp biggern ut?	All pm	Oppr itt wass lamb.	7 turt-
	miss dede.	7 sinne.	purr ^h le	
	dæd bote.	þ birrp beon?	o fife	le. 7 giff gho wass summ wæd-
	wise forþedd.	For whase wile		6o le wif. þ lamb ne mihhte
25	ⁿ clensen himm.	7 wiþp hiss godl himm		winnen? þa brohhte
	sahhtlen?	Him birrp off all		gho wiþp hire child. twa
	hiss sinne beon.	purrh fiffald		cullfress. operr ^r turtless.
	pine clemsedd.	Forr him		
		^r birp for þe lufe off godl.	7 for	7 All piß wass sett þurh
	hiss woh to betenn?	O fife wise		65 drihhtin godd?
				Forr mi-
30	pinenn her.	hiss bodig.	7 hiss	kell þing to taenenn.
	sawle.	Forr him ^m birrp lokenn		For enape child bitac
35	himn pat he?	Ne seo nan þing		neþp uss?
		wiþp sinne.	7 tatt is butt a wun-	Strang mahht
				i gode dedess. 7 magzden
	derr be?	An lott off hefig		7o child bitacneþp uss?
				wac
	shritte.	7 him ^m birrp loken		mahht i gode dedess. For
				sume folgen i piß lif.
45	himn þatt he.	Ne lisste nohht wiþp		All þwerrit 7t gode dedess.
				7 simndean purrh þe ena-
	ære.	Till naness kinness idell-		75 pe child?
				Full opennlig

NOTES

ON

THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE ORMULUM¹.

FOR the guttural and palatal spirants Orm retains the Old English *ȝ* (in the former case adding an *h*), while for the guttural stopped consonant, as in *god*, he employs a sign which is represented in the printed editions by *g*. But in the printed editions the sign *g* is not restricted to the guttural stopped consonant: it is used also in words like *egge* (=Modern English 'edge'), where the *gg* had the *dzh* sound. In other words, the printed editions of the *Ormulum* make no difference between *egge* ('edge') and *eggenn*² ('=to 'egg on'), though the pronunciation of the consonants in the two words was, in Orm's time, the same as now, i.e. *dzh* in the former case and a stopped *g* in the latter. But on examining the MS. I found that, though the editors make no difference, Orm did. The letter with which he always denoted the guttural stop (as in *god*, *gladd*, *eggenn*, &c.) is perfectly distinct from the sign which he used to express the *dzh* sound (as in *egge* 'edge,' *seggen* 'to say,' &c.). The latter, which in the following remarks, as well as in the transcript of the facsimile, is denoted by *g*, has the form of the continental *g* —: cf. *biggenn* in the facsimile, lines 2, 16, 18, 20, 41, 47, and *seggenn*, line 6. The former, which I shall denote by *ȝ*, may be described as a sort of compromise between the Old English *ȝ* and the continental *g*: it has, in common with this

¹ These notes are reprinted, with slight alterations, from the *Academy*, March 15, 1890.

² The earliest quotation for this word given in the New English

Dictionary dates from about 1200. A still earlier instance may be found in the Lindisfarne Gospels, Mark xv. 11, where *concilaverunt* is glossed by *ge-eggedon*.

latter, the closed upper part, thus differing from the Old English *ȝ*; but it has, in common with the Old English *ȝ*, the straight horizontal top stroke, which projects to the left as well as to the right of the letter —: cf. *godd*, lines 4, 9, 10, 12, 38, &c., *bīginnen*, line 13, &c. This straight horizontal top, especially that part of it which projects to the left, is its most characteristic feature, and serves to distinguish it from the *ȝ*, from the round top of which a short sloping stroke extends to the right, there being no stroke whatever to the left. The absence of any stroke to the left of the top of the *ȝ* at once distinguishes it from the *ȝ*. Except for the one or two isolated instances mentioned on page 4, Orm never confuses the two signs, but always uses them correctly, *ȝ* denoting the guttural stopped consonant, and *g* the *dzh* sound. I give a few instances—the pronunciation, *g* or *dzh*, is added in brackets, the number which follows denotes the number of times I have met with the word in question in the *Ormulum* MS.: *egge* ‘edge’ (*dzh*-4) is in each case written with *gg*; *eggenn* ‘to egg on’ (*g*-5), *egginn* (*g*-1) are in every instance spelt with *gg*. The verb *biggenn* ‘to buy’ (*dzh*-18) is always written with *gg*, being thus invariably distinguished from *biggenn* ‘to dwell’ (*g*-20). The verbs *leggenn* ‘to lay’ (*dzh*-2), and *seggenn* ‘to say’ (*dzh*-33) are in every instance written with *gg*, while the Scandinavian *trigg* ‘faithful’ (*g*-3), *kaggrerlegȝc* ‘love’ (*g*-2) are spelt with *gg*.

If any proof is needed that Orm’s *seggenn*, &c. really had the *dzh* sound, it is afforded by the use of the sign *g* in the Romance word *gyn* (*Ormulum*, ed. Holt, I. 245, *þurrh snoterr gyn*, ‘through wise art’). This *gyn* or *gin* appears in other early Middle English writings, meaning, as here, ‘skill, art,’ or ‘a mechanical contrivance, a machine.’ It also got to be used in a bad sense, ‘cunning,’ and ‘a snare,’ surviving in the latter meaning in the Modern English ‘gin.’ It comes from the Latin *ingenium*, through the medium of the Old French *engin*. Some writers have, it is true, regarded it as Scandinavian, and brought it into connexion with the Old Norse *ginna*, ‘to deceive.’ But the pronunciation of the Modern English word entirely precludes the possibility of a Scandinavian

origin. Moreover, the various Middle English meanings are more easily and naturally explained from the Romance *engin* than from the Norse *ginna*.

The Romance origin of *gyn* then being admitted, its initial consonant must, in Orm's time, have had the *dzh* sound; thence, as we have every reason for supposing that Orm did not use this sign for more than one sound, we may assume that, wherever it occurs, it had the value of *dzh*. The fact that in words, whether proper names or not, borrowed from Latin Orm always uses *g* before back vowels and *g* before front vowels, serves as a further confirmation of this. He writes *quabbrigian*, *galile*, and *augusstuss*, but *egippte* and *magy* (= *magi*).

The later language shows that, when *ng* was originally followed by *i* or *j*, the *g* underwent the same assibilation as the *gg*; instances are 'hinge,' 'singe,' &c., so that one would expect to find Orm in such cases writing *ng* and not *ng*. Now, wherever *ng* is preceded in native English words by *e*, an *i* or *j* must have originally followed the *ng* (to this there are very few exceptions—the preterite *heng* 'hung' is one), so that wherever the combination *eng* occurs, we should expect to find it written *eng*, unless the *g* was immediately followed by some consonant which protected it from assibilation, as in *enngliss*, *lenngre*, or in the case of Scandinavian words. Accordingly we find *bilenge* 'belonging to' (l. 2230) written with *g*. The other words in question are (*heh*)*enngell*, 'angel'; *henngedd*, &c., from *henngenn*, 'to hang, crucify'; *brenngdenn*, 'thronged': *wengess*, 'wings'; *strengenn*, 'to strengthen'; *genge*, 'a company'; *gengenn*, 'to avail, assist'—but they are always written with *g*, never with *g*. In the case of (*heh*)*enngell*, the explanation is simple enough. In all the cases except the nominative and accusative singular the *g* was protected from assibilation by *l* (*enngless*), and the influence of these forms protected the *g* in the nominative and accusative singular; but, in the case of the other six words, no similar explanation is possible, so that, unless we are prepared to adopt the unlikely assumption that in Orm's dialect assibilation only took place in the case of *gg*, but not in the case of *ng*, we are driven to the conclusion that all the six words are of Scandinavian origin.

In his article on the Scandinavian loan-words in the *Ormulum* (Paul and Braune's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, x. 1) Brate comes to the conclusion, on quite other grounds, that *henngedd*, *brennydenn*, and *wengess*, are Scandinavian; but the remaining three he regards as native English, because of the lengthening of the root vowel before *ng*. But, if we suppose *strengenn*, *genge*, *gengenn* to belong to an older stratum of loan-words borrowed previously to the lengthening of *e* before *ng*, that objection would lose its force.

The following is a list of the words in which I have found the sign *g* used¹: *biggenn* 'to buy', *abiggenn* 'to atone for', *bilenge*, *egge* 'edge', *Egippte*, *gym*, *leggenn*, *Magy*, *seggenn*, *wiubbseggenn*².

That in a few isolated cases Orm should have let the wrong sign slip through his fingers, writing *g* for *ȝ* and conversely, is but natural. Amongst the hundreds of instances of the word *godd* which I examined, I only found a single example of the misspelling *godd* (line 2161). Line 3995 the MS. has *gluterrnesse* for *ȝluterrnesse*. Conversely in l. 8772 *egippete* is written instead of the usual *egippete*, of which I have noted twelve instances.

A glance at line 10 of the facsimile will shew that Sweet's statement (*History of Engl. Sounds*, p. 160) that the *Ormulum* only has *ȝ*, requires modification. A list of some of the words in which *ȝ* is found, is given by Holt, I. p. lxxx.

It will be also noticed that the *o* of the combination *eo* has generally been erased, and that in most cases the *o* has been again added by another hand.

¹ The words with *g* in the Latin portion of the MS. (i. e. the portion between the Dedication and the Preface, which contains Latin texts) are, of course, left out of consideration, as Orm does not use the sign *ȝ* at all in

this Latin part of the MS., employing the continental *g* in all cases.

² Orm regularly writes *gerrsalem* with an initial *ȝ*. In three instances (ll. 8439, 9182, 9188) the *ȝ* has been altered to *g*.

A MIDDLE ENGLISH COMPASSIO MARIAE¹.

THE following fragment of a Middle English *Compassio Mariae* is printed from the Bodleian MS. Tanner 169* (= New Catalogue 9995), formerly Auct. D. 3. 16, and to judge from the character of the handwriting, must have been written soon after the middle of the thirteenth century. The main body of the MS., which consists of a Latin psalter and massbook preceded by a calendar, dates from the twelfth century. From notices entered on the margins of the calendar it appears that, in the fourteenth century, the MS. was in the possession of the Benedictine monastery of St. Werburgh in Chester, in which city the MS. was probably written. It does not, however, follow from this that our fragment also came from Chester, as the leaf on which it is written did not originally form part of the MS., but has evidently been detached from some old binding² and bound up with MS. Tanner 169*. Still its present position renders it likely that the binding out of which it was taken, was that of MS. Tanner 169* itself, in which case the fragment must have belonged to the library of the Chester monastery and is probably a remnant of some manuscript written there.

¹ The following is a translation, with some few alterations and additions, of an article which appeared in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, vol. 88, p. 181.

² The first and last leaves of the MS. have also been taken out of an

old binding; they contain fragments, in handwriting of the fourteenth century, of two Latin hymns: the one beginning *Laudes crucis attolamus* (cf. Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus* ii. 78, and Migne, *Patrol.* 196, p. 1484), and the other being part of a hymn in honour of St. Oswald.

The Latin original, of which the English fragment is a translation, I found in a sequence edited for the first time by Dreves, in his *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 8 (1890), p. 55¹. As that work is perhaps not generally accessible, I have, for convenience of comparison, printed the Latin original side by side with the English text. The first line of the English fragment obviously formed part of the last line of a stanza, which would seem to have corresponded rather with the first or second stanza of the original than with the third or fourth. The remainder of the English poem corresponds stanza for stanza to the Latin hymn. The translation does not closely follow the original; indeed the choice of the same metrical form necessitated considerable freedom in the translation. The fondness of the English poet for alliteration need not surprise us, if, as I shall endeavour to show, his home was in the West Midland district.

In a monograph which appeared in Berlin in 1890 under the title 'Vier mittelenglische geistliche Gedichte aus dem 13. Jahrhundert,' the author, M. Jacoby, published a Middle English poem (p. 42), which in its contents exhibits some similarity with our fragment. The differences between the two are, however, too considerable to admit of the possibility of their being derived from a common source. Still the resemblance between Jacoby, p. 43, lines 31-42 (*Nu is time . . . quite and fre*) and stanzas VI and VII of the Latin hymn deserve notice. Compare too, Jacoby, p. 42, line 4 *þe sone heng, þe moder stud* with *Ista stabat, hic pendebat*.

In the MS. the poem is not divided into lines and stanzas, but is written as prose and furnished with musical notes. I have also modernised the manuscript punctuation. For the w-sound the scribe employs both the letter w and the old runic sign þ; for the latter I have, in my text, substituted an italic w.

¹ The oldest MSS. of the Latin hymn used by Dreves do not go back further than the fourteenth century; but the English thirteenth century

translation shows that the Latin original must have been composed, at the latest, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, probably still earlier.

DE BEATA MARIA VIRGINE.

I.

Stabat iuxta Christi crucem,
 Stabat videns vitæ ducem
 Vitæ valefacere,
 Stabat mater nec iam mater
 Et, quid sit eventus ater,
 Novo novit funere.

II.

Stabat virgo spectans crucem
 Et utramque pati lucem,
 Sed plus suam doluit.
 Ista stabat; hic pendebat,
 Et, quod foris hic ferebat,
 Intus hæc sustinuit.

III.

Intus cruci conclavatur,
 Intus sui iugulatur
 Mater agni gladio;
 Intus martyr consecratur,
 Intus tota concrematur
 Amoris incendio.

ENGLISH FRAGMENT¹.

I.

— — — — —
 — — stod ho þere neh.

IV.

Modo manus, modo latus,
 Modo ferro pes foratus
 Oculis resumitur,
 Modo caput spinis tutum,
 Cuius orbis totus nutum
 Et sentit et sequitur.

¹ A later hand has added as a heading Translaō sēe elene. The capitals are partly red, partly blue.

II.

þat leueli leor wid spald ischent,
 þat feire fel wid s[ur]ges rend,
 þe blod out stremed oueral,
 5 Skoarn, upbraid, and schome
 speche :
 Al hit was to sorhes eche ;
 i woa þu was biluken al.

V.

Os verendum litum sputis
 Et flagellis rupta cutis
 Et tot rivi sanguinis,
 Probra, risus, et quæ restant,
 Orbitati tela præstant
 Et dolori virginis.

III.

I þat blisful bearnes buirde
 wrong w[e]s wroht to wommone
 wirde,
 10 ah kuinde craued nou þe riht.
 Penne þu loch, ah nou þu wep :
 þi wa wes waken þat tenne slep ;
 childingpine haues te nou
 picht.

VI.

Tempus nacta trux natura
 Nunc exposcit sua iura,
 Nunc dolores acuit ;
 Nunc extorquet cum usura
 Gemitus, quos paritura
 Naturæ detinuit.

IV.

Nou þu moostes, lauedi, lere
 15 wmmone wo þat barnes bere,
 þa bit[t]er and ta bale þrehes.
 For in his dead þe wo þu ȝulde,
 in childing þat tu þole schulde
 þurd modres kuindeliche
 lahes.

VII.

Nunc, nunc parit, nunc scit vere,
 Quam maternum sit dolere,
 Quam amarum parere.
 Nunc se dolor orbitati
 Dilatus in partu nati
 Præsentat in funere.

3. MS. s:::ges, the first letter might also be read as f, of the three following only faint traces remain. The correct reading is, no doubt, scurges (not scorges, because the traces of the letter before g show that it cannot have been i, which is the form used for r after an o), corresponding to the flagellis of the original.

9. MS. w:s.

11. ah] the a is almost entirely gone.
 nou] the no is very faint, but can be made out with certainty.
 þu wep] the MS. has wep þu, but signs have been added above it indicating that the words are to be transposed.

16. MS. bit:er. The b of bale has partly vanished in consequence of a hole in the parchment.

V.

20 Ah, lauedi, þah þu wonges wete,
þat þe were wo at unimete,
þine loates weren lasteles.
þi wep ne wemmede noht þin
heau,
þat made þi leor ful louk and
lew:
25 swa sari wmonne neuer neas.

VI.

Ah þi kare was ouercomen,
þe þridde dai þi ioie comen,
ded and deuel driuen doun.
þwen þi sone risen wes
30 to þine wele and ure peas,
blisse he brocte in icha toun.

VII.

þi luue sone uprisinge
was selli liik to his birdinge:
bitwene twa his litel schead.
35 For, so gleam glidis þurt þe glas,
of þi bodi born he was,
and þurt þe hoale þurch he
gload

VIII.

Milde moder, maiden oa,
of al þi kare com þou þoa,
40 þwen þi sone rise wes.
Leuedi, bring us out of wa,
of sinne, of sorhe, of siche al swoa
to bliss[e] þat his endeles.
AM[EN].

23. wemmede] the final e is very faint.

VIII.

Nunc scit mater vim doloris,
Servat tamen hic pudoris
Virginalis gratiam;
Nam pudicos gestus foris
Non deflorat vis doloris
Intus urens anxiam.

IX.

Triduanus ergo fletus
Læta demum est deletus
Surgentis victoria.
Læta lucet spes dolenti;
Leto namque resurgentis
Conresurgunt omnia.

X.

Christi novus hic natalis
Formam partus virginalis
Clauso servat tumulo:
Hinc processit, hinc surrexit,
Hinc et inde Christus exit
Intacto signaculo.

XI.

Eia mater, eia læta,
Fletus tui nox expleta
Lucescit in gaudium:
Nostræ quoque lætum mane
Nocti plus quam triduanæ
Tuum redde filium.

31. icha] the a has partly disappeared.

NOTES.

2. *spald* is the representative of the Anglian *spāld*, cf. Kluge, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, xxvi. 97; Sievers, Paul und Braune's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, ix. 220; x. 485). The ordinary Middle English form, *spōtel*, comes from the West Saxon *spātl*.

3. The *d* in *wid* stands for *þ*; similarly in *dead* 17, *ded* 28, the *d*, *t*, in *þurd* 19, *þurt* 35, 37 is meant to denote the same sound.

6. *eche*, 'increase,' 'All that contributed to the increase of thy sorrow,' 'increased thy sorrow.' Cf. Schorham [Percy Society, vol. 28 (1849)], p. 10, 'Witheoute wane and eche.'

8. *buirde*, 'birth' O. E. *gebyrd*.

9. *womnone wirde*, 'the common lot of women' is the law of nature, to which all other women are subject, viz. that they suffer pain in giving birth. This law of nature was violated ('wrong was wrought to the lot of women') in the painless birth of Christ. Cf. Dreves, vi. 46, *Et in partu doloris nescia Contra iura . . . ;* Dreves, ix. 73, *Tuum partum lex naturae stupet suo fracto iure, Dum parit virginitas.*

14-15. Cf. Böddeker, *Altenglische Dichtungen des Ms. Harley 2253*, p. 207. *Moder, nou þou miht wel leren, Whet sorewe haveþ þat children beren.*

16. *þrehes* = *þrāwes*, OE. *ðrāwu* by the side of *ðrēa*. Epinal Gl. 53 *thrauu* (cf. Sievers, Paul und Braune's *Beiträge*, x. 480).

19. *þurd*, cf. *þurt* 35, 37. Both the *d* and *t* stand for *þ*; cf. *wid* 3. The spelling *þurþ* for *þurh* occurs already in OE.: cf. Tessmann, *Aelfrics altenglische Bearbeitung der Interrogationes Sigewulfi presb. in Genesin*, Berlin, 1891, p. 8: *þurð þa diglan æddran þyssere eorðan* (MS. Harley 3271, XI. century). Cf. also *History of the Holy Rood-tree*, 34¹³. In Middle English this spelling is by no means rare: it occurs e. g. in the Digby MS. of the *Moral Ode* (cf. Zupitza, *Anglia*, i. 19, note) and in the *Old English Homilies, First Series* (Morris, E. E. T. Soc.—Lambeth MS.), p. 117, etc. With regard to the use of *þ* for *h* cf. Jacoby, p. 15; Förster, *Anglia (Anzeiger)*, vii. 65; Schröer, *Die Winteney-Version der Regula S. Benedicti*, p. xix; Cohn, *Die Sprache in der mittelengl. Predigtsammlung der Hs. Lambeth 487*, p. 27; Sweet, *History of*

English Sounds, § 727; Luick, *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, May 17th, 1890 p. 745, &c. Further instances of *þ* for *h* from the Old Engl. period are Hpt. Gl. (=the Aldhelm Glosses in vol. ix. of the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*), 489 *oþryðt* for *ofþryht*; 415 *dolðdrenç* for *dolh-*, &c.; Saxon Chronicle, anno 1137, *þowþethere*. On initial *þw* for *hw* cf. note to 29.

22. Cf. *St. Katherine* (ed. Einenkel, E. E. T. Soc.), l. 104, *þeos lufsume lefdi mid lastelese lates*; and *OE. Hom.* (ed. Morris, E. E. T. Soc.), 1st Series, p. 269, *lastelese lates*.

24. *louk*. Cf. Stratmann-Bradley, p. 396, under *kleuke*, and Mätzner, ii. p. 223, *leuk*. *lew*, cf. Stratm.-Bradley, p. 396, *klewe*, and Mätzner, ii. p. 225, *lew*.

26–7. Cf. Böddeker, p. 207:

*When he ros, þo fel hire sorewe,
Hire blisse sprong þe þridde morewe.*

And Jacoby, p. 43, l. 46:

*þi sorwen wenten al to blisse,
þo þi sone al mid ivisse
aros hupon þe tridde day.*

29. *þwen*, the same spelling occurs line 40. I am inclined to think that the *þ* is here not a mere scribal error for *h*, although I cannot point out any other certain examples of the replacement of initial *hw* by *þw*. Possibly, however, a *þwarle knot*, which occurs in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, l. 194, is a case in point: it is obviously identical with the *wharlnot* cited by Morris in his glossary as still usual in Lancashire (cf. also Halliwell, *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*). The converse, viz. that *þw* is represented by *hw* is not at all unfrequent: cf. *gehwárlécan* (= *geþwárl-*), Hpt. Gl. 407; Aelfric's *Grammar*, ed. by Zupitza, 11⁶ (MSS. T.U.); *gehwáre*, Hpt. Gl. 411; *ungehwárnes*, Hpt. Gl. 495, 522; Schröer, *Bened. Regel*, 10⁶: cf. too *ungewárnes* (= *ungehw-* for *ungeþw-*), *Gospel of St. John*, vii. 43 (MSS. H and R); *gehwáriende*, Hpt. Gl. 527; *hwirlícere* (for *þwyrlicere*), Hpt. Gl. 434; *hwurliche* (= *hwyrly-* for *þwyrly-*), Hpt. Gl. 470; *hwurum* (for *þwyrum*), Hpt. Gl. 471; *hwarum* (obviously miswritten or misread for *hwurum* = *þwyrum*), Hpt. Gl. 434; cf. also Dietrich, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, xi. 439. The same change may be observed at later periods: OE. *þwitan*, 'to cut,' and ME. *þwitel* 'knife,' still survive in modern dialects as *to thwite* and *thwittle*. The literary language only recognizes *whittle*, in Yorkshire the verb *to white* is also used. By the side of NE. *thong* (dialectally *thwang*), OE. *þwang*, we find widely spread in modern dialects the form *whang*. For *thwaite* (from Old Norse *þveit*, *þveite*) the form *whate* is said to be used in Cumberland, cf. W. Dickinson, *Cumberland Glossary*, p. 103. In *whack* by the side of *thwack* we have the same interchange of *wh* and *þw*.

33. *birdinge*, 'birth,' is not recorded in Stratmann, Mätzner, or in the *New English Dictionary*.

35. 'For just as the gleam glides through the glass, so he was born of thy body.' This comparison of the birth of Christ with the sunbeam passing through glass, which we do not find in the Latin original, was a very favourite

one in the Middle Ages. Cf. W. Grimm, *Konrad von Würzburg, Goldene Schmiede*, p. xxxi. Cf. also Mone, *Lat. Hymnen des Mittelalters*, i. 63 :

Ut vitrum non læditur

Sole penetrante,

Sic illæsa creditur

Virgo post et ante¹.

Cf. also *Oeuvres poétiques d'Adam de Saint-Victor*, ed. Gautier (1858), i. p. 40, ll. 16–22, and the note on p. 45. Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben*, i. 262, has two examples from William of Schorham :

Therfore of hyre ybore he was,

As the sonne passeg̃t thorg the glas,

[Percy Soc. 28, p. 121.]

Ase the sonne taketh hyre pas

Withoute breeche thorgout that glas,

Thy maydenhod onwemmed hyt was

[Percy Soc. 28, p. 133.]

Jacoby, p. 47, cites an instance from T. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Percy Soc. 23 (1847), p. 53 :

As the sune schynyth in the glas,

So Jhesu of hys moder borne was.

To these instances may be added the following :

Right als þou seis þe sune beme

Gais thorū þe glas and cums again

Withuten brest, right sua all plain,

Bot flescheliker he com and yede,

Saufand his moder hir maidenhede.

[Cursor Mundi, l. 11228.]

T. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Soc. 1856, p. 89 :

Rygt as the sunne schynit in glas,

So Jhesu in his moder was.

Also J. A. Fuller Maitland, *English Carols of the fifteenth century, from a MS. roll in the Library of Trin. Coll., Cambridge*, p. 13.

Horstmann, *The minor poems of the Vernon MS., Part I* (E. E. T. Soc. 1892), p. 121 :

'He liht in to þe, soþ hit was,

As dude þe sonne þorwh þe glas,

And so þow wex wiþ chylde.'

¹ This is the well-known hymn beginning, *Dies est letitiae*, of which there is a modern English translation by the Rev. J. M. Neale. Cf. Helmore and Neale, *Carols for Christmastide*, No. 9. The passage in question runs :

As the sunbeam through the glass

Passeth, but not staineth;

Thus the Virgin, as she was

Virgin still remaineth.

The same comparison occurs in a modern carol by the Rev. H. R. Bramley, beginning,

*Listen, lordings, unto me, a tale I will you tell,
which is still sung at Magdalen College,
Oxford. The second verse is :*

*In the inn they found no room ; a scanty bed
they made :*

*Soon a babe from Mary's womb was in the
manger laid*

*Forth he came as light through glass : He
came to save us all.*

*In the stable ox and ass before their Maker
fall.*

In the poems of the Franciscan monk, Jacobus Ryman, composed in 1492, and edited, for the first time, by Zupitza, in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, vol. 89, I have noted no less than twelve instances of this comparison of Christ's birth to the passing of light through glass. I will only quote two :

Seint Anselme seith : ' So Criste did pas
Thurgh Marie myelde, as his wille was,
As the sonne beame goth thurgh the glas. [p. 186.]

As the sonne beame goth thurgh the glas,
Thurgh this roose that lilly did pas
To save mankynde, as his wille was. [p. 187.]

The other instances occur on the following pages: 176, 181, 207, 208, 212, 273, 279, 294, 296, 324. Cf. also Malory's *Morte Darthur*, ed. Sommer, p. 703, and *wente oute thurgh a glas wyndowe*, etc.

37. 'Through the whole (i. e. unhurt, unbroken, unopened) sepulchre he glided.' Cf. Jacoby, p. 43, l. 51, *Pur þe hole ston þe (=he) glod*. *Hoale*=OE. *hál*; *þurh*=OE. *þrúh*, 'sepulchre, tomb, coffin.' Forms with metathesis occur both in OE. and ME.: Wright-Wilker, *Vocabularies*, 335, 41 *ðurh*, *sarcophagum*; *Wars of Alexander* (ed. Skeat), l. 4452, *thurghis*.

40. *rise*, miswritten probably for *risen*.

42. *sich*, 'sighing.'

As regards the dialect of the poem the forms of the verb point to the northern part of the West Midland district. The plural of the present indicative has the Midland ending *e*: *bere* (rhyming with the infinitive *lere*) 15. The 3rd person singular of the present indicative, which does not occur in any rhyme, ends in *s*: *haves* 13, *glidis* 35; and this points to the West of England. The 2nd pers. singular of the strong preterite has no ending: *þu was* 7, *þu loch* 11, *þu wep* (rhyming with *slep*) 11, *com þou* 39, the only exception is *zulde* 17. Instances of the 2nd person singular of the weak preterite are *þu moostes* 14, *þu schulde* 18.

Compare with these the corresponding forms of the preterite in the West Midland *Alliterative Poems* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, which will be found in Schwahn's *Die Konjugation in Sir Gawain, &c.*, pp. 8-9; *þou gef*, *Gawain* 2349; *þou woldeg*, *Gawain* 84; *þou schulde*, *Cleanness* 1110, &c. The regular retention of the *n* in the ending of the past participle of the strong verbs points to the northern half of England: *comen* 26, 27, *waken* 12, *driven* 28, *risen* 29, *born* 36. The form *rise* 40 forms the only exception, and is probably merely a scribal error for *risen*.

The phonology of the poem agrees with this localisation. OE. *y* (umlaut of *u*) appears both as *ui* and *i*: *buirde* 8, *kuinde* 10, *kuindeliche* 19, *wirde* 9, *birdinge* 33, *sinne* 42. The occurrence of forms with *ui* and *u* side by side with *i*-forms is characteristic of the West Midland district: cf. Knigge, *Die Sprache des Dichters von Sir Gawain*, pp. 29-30, and 47 (*huyde*, *kuy*, *þurled*, &c. by the side of *synne*, &c.); Schüddekopf, *Sprache und Dialekt des mittelenglischen Dichters W. of Palerne*, pp. 18 and 27; and Kron, *W. Langleys Buch von P. dem Pflüger*, p. 57 (*huyre*, *gult*, by the side of *kin*, &c.). Cf.

also Carstens, *Zur Dialektbestimmung des mittelengl. Sir Firumbras*¹, pp. 16, 17, and 27.

It might be urged that the retention of the diphthongic *eo* in *leor* 2, 24 (cf. also *heau* 23 = OE. *hēow*) beside *devel* 28, *leueli* 2; and of *ea*, *eā*, *ea* in *dead* 17, *schead* 34 (beside *ded* 28), and in *bearnes* 8 (beside *barnes* 15) were proofs of a Southern origin. But I believe that that is owing to the greater age of the poem as compared with the other West Midland writings that have come down to us. The *u* in *luve* 32 (=OE. *lēofa*) is an indication of West English origin : cf. Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, l. 752, *hulde* (=OE. *hēoldon*), Laȝamon, 3461 *dure* (=dēore), 4205 *buh* (=bēoð), etc. *Sir Firumbras*, 4093 *luvere* (=lēofra), &c., *Piers Plowm.*, *būþ* (=bēoþ); cf. *lud* (=OE. *lēod*), in *W. of Palerne*, *Sir Gawain*, &c.

OE. *æ* is generally represented in the poem by *a*: *þat* (8 times), *at* 21, *glas* 35, *was* 6, 7, 26, 33. It appears as *e* only in *wes* 12, 29 (rhyming with *peas*), 40 (rhyming with *endeles*), and as *ea* in *neas* 25 (rhyming with *lasteles*). From the fact that in the three last-named instances the rhymes show the author to have pronounced *wes* and *nes* in these cases, one is by no means justified in assuming that in his dialect *e* was the regular representative of OE. *æ*, nor even in altering the rhyme *glas*: *was* 35 to *gles*: *wes*, since, as is well known, the form *wes* was frequently used, side by side with *was*², by Middle English authors (by North Midland and Northern as well as by others), who otherwise only use *a* as the representative of OE. *æ* (cf. Kölbing, *Sir Tristrem*, pp. lxi-lxii ; *Amis und Amiloun*, p. xxv, &c.). As regards the OE. *ā*, we find it represented eight times by *a*, eight times by *oa*, and four times by *o*: *spald* 2, *þa* 16, *ta* 16, *swa* 25, *sari* 25, *twa* 34, *wa* 12, 41—*woa* 7, *loates* (ON. *lát*) 22, *hoale* 37, *gload* 37, *oa* 38, *þoa* 39, *swoa* 42 (cf. *skoarn* 5); *wo* 15, 17, 21, 80 35. Here belongs also *schead* (rhyming with *gload*) 34, and *þreheſ* (rhyming with *lahes*) 16. The fact that the scribe has written sometimes *a*, sometimes *oa* and *o*, as the representative of OE. *ā*, points to the conclusion that the existing copy of our poem was written during the period when the change was taking place. From the rhyme *þreheſ* (=OE. *þrāwū*): *lahes* (=OE. *lägu*) we may infer, with some degree of probability, that the poet still pronounced the *a*-sound (but cf. Knigge, p. 33, and the *Neuphilol. Beiträge herausgeg. vom Verein f. neuere Sprachen in Hannover*, 1886, pp. 53-4; Brandl, *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum*, 13, 95-6). Taking into consideration the age of our poem, one might be inclined, on account of the comparatively large number of instances of *o*, *oa*, to assign it, or at any rate the existing copy, to a more southern district. But if we bear in mind that the rounding of *ā* to *ē*, which began in the South, spread thence rapidly through the Midlands towards the North, and that before the end of the thirteenth century we meet with *o* even in Northern writings (cf. Kölbing, *Sir Tristrem*, p. lxxi), the occurrence of *oa* and *o*, by the side of the older *a*, does not stand

¹ *Sir Firumbras* was probably written 'an der nördlichen Grenze des Westsachsenlandes,' cf. Brandl, *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum*, xiii. p. 100.

² In Barbour's *Bruce* (ed. Skeat), ii. 584-6, we find the two forms used in two successive

couples :

*That to the ladyis profyl was
Mar then Iamys of Dowglas ;
And the king oft confortyl wes
Throw his wyt, and his besynes.*

in the way of the assumption that the poem itself, as well as the existing copy, may have been written in Cheshire, perhaps in Chester itself, to whose monastic library the fragment once probably belonged¹. The form *ho*, 'she,' in line 1, is important for the fixing of the dialect, as it is characteristic of the West Midland area, and has remained, down to the present day, the usual form of the pronoun in Cheshire. The form *spāld*, l. 2, points to the Anglian district².

There now only remains the question of age. As has already been mentioned, palaeographical considerations point to the third quarter of the thirteenth century. And the language of the fragment agrees on the whole with this. We should not expect to find *oa*, *o* for OE. *ā* in the Northern portion of the West Midland district before the second half of the century. The representation of OE. *u* by *o* (*comen* 26, 27, *sone* 29, 32, 40), and of OE. *ū* by *ou* (*out* 4, 41, *nou* four times, *doun* 28, *toun* 32, *pou* 39, compared with *þu* seven times, *ure* 30, *þurch* 37). In the case of *us* 41, shortening had probably already taken place, cf. *Orm's uss*). It is true that *o* for *u* is met with occasionally before the end of the twelfth century: e.g. in the Lambeth MS. of the *Moral Ode* (cf. Lewin, *Das mittelenglische Poema Morale*, Halle, 1881, p. 16), in the Homily MS. B. 14, 52, of Trinity Coll., Cambridge (written about 1200, ed. Morris, *Old Engl. Hom. 2nd Series*. Cf. Krüger, *Sprache und Dialekt der mittelengl. Homilien in der Hs. B. 14, 52, Trin. Coll., Camb.*, Erlangen, 1885, p. 17). In the Digby MS. of the *Moral Ode* (cf. Lewin, p. 16), as well as in the older Lagamon MS. *o* is by no means rare. Still in all these cases the *o*-forms are in a small minority as compared with the forms in which *u* is still written, and many MSS. of the first half of the thirteenth century only have *u*: e.g. *Ormulum*, *St. Katherine*, *Hali Meidenhad*, *Cuckoo Song* (circa 1240), *Proclamation of Henry III*, 18th Oct. 1258, &c. MS. Jesus Coll., Oxford, No. 29 (written about 1250, containing *Owl and Nightingale*, *Moral Ode*, &c.) has only a few isolated instances of *o*. One is therefore justified in asserting that the comparatively frequent occurrence of *o* (for *u*) in our short poem points to the second half of the century³. The same holds good of the spelling *ou* for OE. *ū*, a spelling which was introduced somewhat later than *o* for *u*: as some MSS. which already have *o* for *u*, afford no instances at all of *ou* for *ū*. The MS. Lambeth 487 (containing homilies and the *Moral Ode*, edited by Morris, *OE. Homilies, 1st Series*) has invariably *u* for OE. *ū* (cf. Cohn, *Die Sprache in der mittelengl. Predigtssammlung der Hs. Lambeth 487*, pp. 16 and 18, and Lewin, p. 16). The Trinity Coll. MS. (*OE. Homilies, 2nd Series*) has isolated instances of *ou* (*nou* 219, 3), and the spelling *ou* occurs sometimes in the older Lagamon MS. (*oure*, *nou*, *bouren*, *out*, *couþe*, &c.), but most of the MSS. of the first half of the thirteenth century only have *u* for OE. *ū*: so, e.g. the Digby MS. of the *Moral Ode* (which already has instances of *o* for *ū*), *St. Katherine*, *Hali Meidenhad*, *Ancren Riwle* (MS. Nero, A. 14), *Ormulum*, *Cuckoo Song*, &c. Even in a number of MSS. of the latter half of the thirteenth century we

¹ Cf. above p. 75. ² Cf. p. 80.

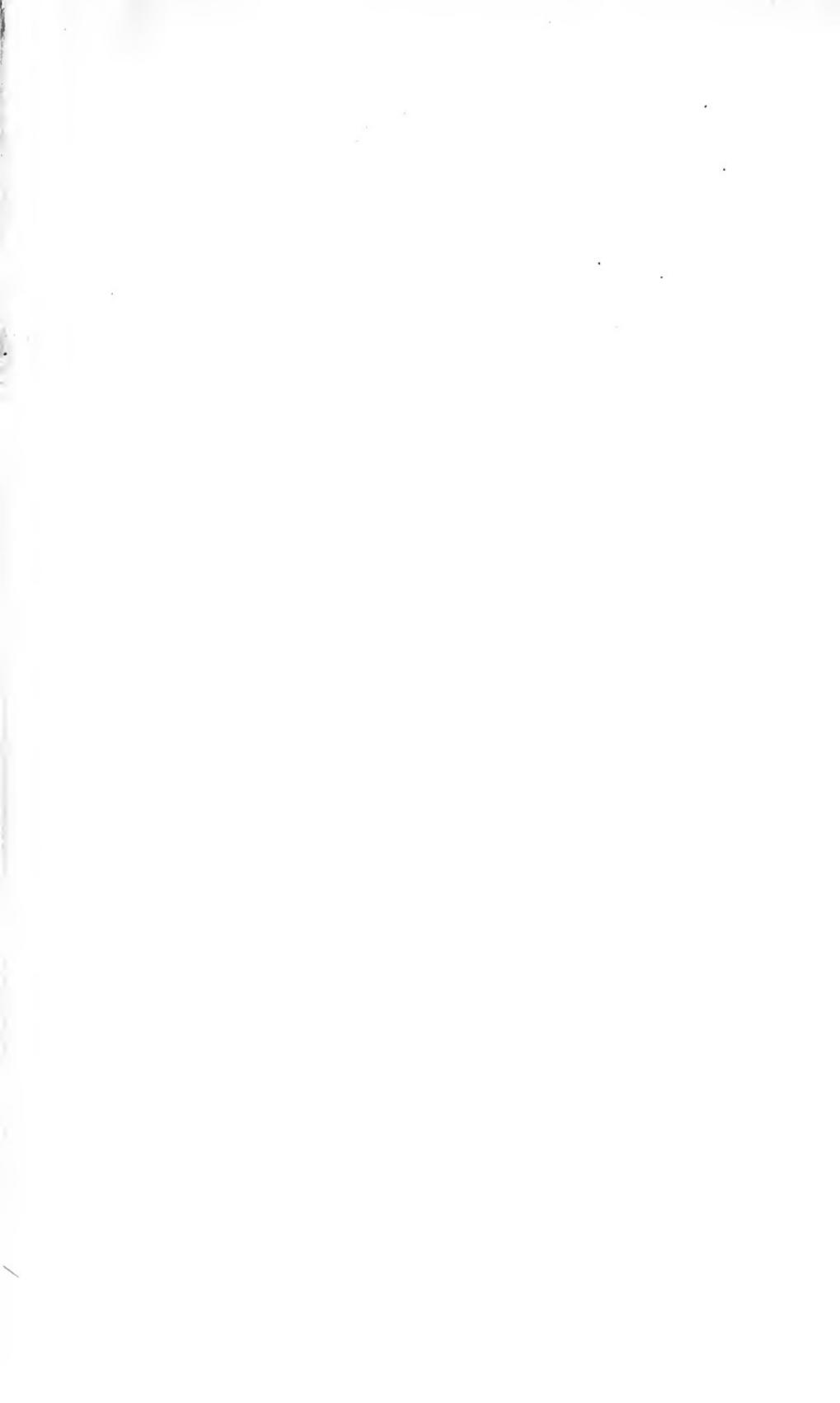
³ It is of course possible that the spelling *o*, *ou* (for OE. *u*, *ū*) spread more rapidly in the West than in the East. The frequent

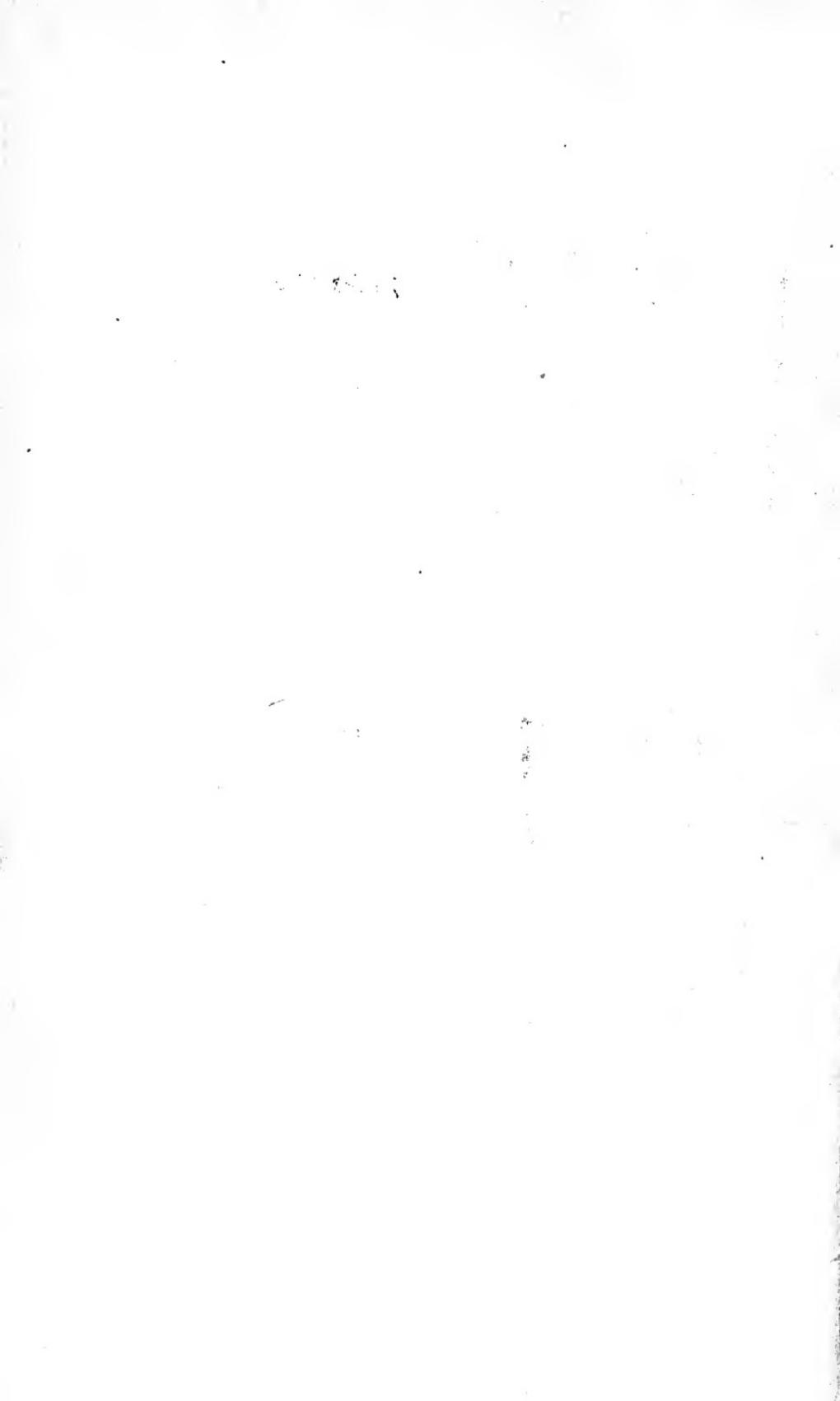
use of both *o* and *ou* in Lagamon as compared with other contemporary MSS. might be urged in proof of this. But is the Lagamon MS. as early as is generally assumed?

only find *u* written: so, for instance, Henry III's *Proclamation* (1258), MS. Cambridge, Gg. 4, 27. 2 (containing *Floris and Blancheflur*, *King Horn*, cf. Hausknecht's edition of *Fl. and Bl.*, Berlin, 1885, pp. 115 and 130). MS. Jesus Coll., Oxf., No. 29 (*Owl and Nightingale*, &c.) appears only to have *u*, and MS. Corp. Christi Coll., Cambr. 444 (*Genesis and Exodus*), which was written about 1300, has 'nur in einigen seltenen Fällen *ou*' (cf. *Anzeiger zur Anglia* viii. 111, and *Anglia* v. 67).

The above remarks on the age of our fragment apply, of course, only to the existing copy: the *oa*, *o* for *ā*, the *o* for *u*, and the *ou* for *ū*, may have been introduced by the scribe. From the retention of the diphthongic spelling in *bearnes*, *dead*, *schead*, and *leor* one might infer that the original was probably written in the first half of the century (but cf. the diphthongs in the *Proclamation* of 1258). The use of the runic *p* by the side of *w* proves nothing with regard to the age of poem or copy, as this sign occurs in still later MSS., e.g. in *Havelok*, the existing MS. of which (MS. Laud Misc. 108) dates from the early part of the fourteenth century (cf. *Anglia* xiii. 192, and *Athenaeum*, Feb. 23, 1889, p. 245).







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